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CALIFORNIA: THE NAME

BY

RUTH PUTNAM

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

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Assistant Professor of History, University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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AMERICAÆ SIVE QVARTAE ORBIS PARTIS NOVA ET



A section of the Diego Gutierrez map, 1562. Copy from Library of Congress. The name California, applied to the extremity of the Peninsula, is here first shown upon a map. See post, page 349. Winsor, *The Kohl Collection*, nos. 184, 349, mentions other sections of this map.



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“I was first led to these studies by the wish to fill up certain puzzling blanks of ignorance in my own mind, and doubtless the little book bears marks of this origin . . . It deals little with the harvest of flowers or fruit, but watches the inconspicuous seasons when the soil is beginning to stir, the seeds are falling or ripening.”

— Sir GILBERT MURRAY: Preface to *The Four Stages of Greek Religion*.

CALIFORNIA: THE NAME

BY

RUTH PUTNAM

It is just possible that the name "California" may owe its existence to a union of high hopes and deep disappointment. For, undoubtedly, the first white men to make a landfall on the soil did have very high hopes, and, as certainly, the sun-burned Pacific coastland, in spite of its potential fruitfulness and hidden treasure, was not appreciated at first acquaintance. It seems to be true that her naming was casual. No godparent was honored by having the given name commemorate the donor as well as serve as designation to the recipient. California is not in the same category as her sister states, Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, and Louisiana. Nor did she find her present name in the possession of the aborigines, like Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other states.

About fifty years ago, Edward Everett Hale chanced upon the word "California" in a Spanish romance three and a half centuries old, and leaped to the conclusion that here was the source of the state's name. He was fully convinced that his conjecture was correct.¹ The romance, *Las sergas de Esplandian*, or the fifth book of *Amadis de Gaula*, was in existence in print at least twenty-five years before the discovery of the peninsula of California by the Spaniards, and the identity of the two names looked so perfectly self-evident that the dearth of connecting links was, naturally enough, deemed unimportant. Dr. Hale's theory was accepted and then doubted. Other derivations were put forth. All surmises in the matter are given in an appendix to this paper. In 1910, Dr. George Davidson examined the evidence carefully, and came to the conclusion that

¹ *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1862. *Historical Magazine*, VI, 313; *Atlantic Monthly*, XIII, 265.

Dr. Hale's clue was the correct one.² The following consideration of the question simply offers a fuller examination of the circumstances attending the discovery of Lower California, and of the possible way in which a term fabricated for fiction reached its dignified status on the map of America, after traveling up the coast from the point, until it covered the two Californias.

The first question arising concerns the probability whether a word, used only incidentally in a fairly recent minor Spanish romance, was applied to the remote peninsula of California by the *conquistadores* who came from Mexico and who could hardly be supposed to have received the latest novel from home by post, as one critic observes. It would seem a major rôle to be played by fiction in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Yet it really was not long after the introduction of printing that man—non-academic and unclerical man, in addition to the world's scholars—became a reading animal. The best sellers in one language were speedily translated into other tongues, and the press, as a potent agent for affecting human society, exercised its power. Romances were circulated and cherished, of course, long before the era of printing, but their vogue was increased markedly very shortly after it. No one would deny the popularity of *Amadis de Gaula*. It had a surprisingly long life in circles of expanding size both before and after it went to press, that is, from some year near 1400, if not earlier, to one more than two centuries later, about the time when Cervantes made the barber spare it in the general holocaust of all romantic literature that had played havoc with the brain of Don Quixote.

The authorship of *Amadis de Gaula* is attributed to one Lobeira, a Portuguese, and the novel in its early form undoubtedly antedates printing, the zest for discovery, and improved international communication. Somewhere about 1470 one Montalvo—his Christian name, too, is not certain—began its translation into Spanish. The publication of that version marks the

² G. Davidson, "The origin and the meaning of the name California," in *Transactions and proceedings* of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, Series II, Vol. VI, Part I (1910), 3-50.

beginning of the wonderful popularity of the tale, or its increase, at least.³ In the next half century versions in all languages swarmed over Europe. Montalvo added a sequel, all his own—*Las sergas de Esplandian*, already referred to—but before touching on it and the train of other continuations, which proved a demand by the general public, two instances may be worth noting to show how the original *Amadis*, at least, was sufficiently well known in the sixteenth century for two very widely separated men to make passing allusions to it with apparent surety of being understood. Examples could, of course, be multiplied; these two simply prove *casual* familiarity with the text. In 1651, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was negotiating his second marriage with a young German girl, Anne of Saxony, whose Protestant kinsfolk were much troubled lest she might be contaminated by the customs of the Catholic court of the Spanish monarch at Brussels, whither she would be taken if the alliance were made. Orange was then a faithful servant of Philip II, and by no means the Protestant hero he became later. The prince was urged to make definite promises that his wife should have full freedom to read the Bible and religious books true to the Reformed Faith. He was unwilling to commit himself in a manner to give umbrage to the Catholic Philip, and desired to pledge himself in general terms only. He said, rather flippantly, that he did not think a young girl should be troubled at all about serious literature. She would better read the romances of *Amadis de Gaula* and devote herself to learning the *gailliard*—fancy dance. Years afterward, when Anne had proven herself an unworthy wife, her Protestant relatives remembered this remark of her husband's, and brought it up as evidence of his failure to give due weight to the religious life and its necessary intellectual pabulum. Anne had gone wrong, and it was the fault of Orange, who had been quite willing to expose her to the baneful influence of light romances,

³ The earliest edition extant is that of 1508, preserved in the British Museum. One of 1498 is referred to, but cannot be found. See Appendix B for authorities on the *Amadis* cycle.

instead of building up her character with spiritual food. Had he not declared that *Amadis de Gaula* was better for her than the Bible itself? Now he was reaping a just reward for his want of attention to sacred things.⁴

Almost exactly at the same time, at any rate within the same decade in which this Netherland official of Philip II used this passing allusion to the romances of *Amadis de Gaula* to point his argument against serious reading for young maidens, another officer of the Spanish monarch, far away in a city of the American colonies, in Santiago de Guatemala, was recalling the interesting experiences of his life, the story of the first advance of the Spaniards upon the City of Mexico.

He was a very human person, this Bernal Díaz del Castillo, this old soldier past eighty, blind and deaf, but still alert to his reputation in the midst of his reduced circumstances. His actual writing of his reminiscences began in the year 1568, when things had changed much in that wonderful Mexico which Cortés had won away from Montezuma's race for Charles V, and which made part of the heritage passed on to that same Philip II whom the Prince of Orange had feared to offend.

In 1568 the conqueror Hernán Cortés was dead, as were most of the adventurers who had shared his labors. Our veteran, Bernal Díaz, says that only five of his fellow soldiers were still living, and all alike were poor and forlorn. None had had their rightful share of the wealth they had helped to wrest from the ancient Aztecs. They had had no fitting recompense for their "sweat and blood." Bernal Díaz himself had traveled twice to Spain as advocate of his own petitions, getting little solace for those long sea passages. At the end of his life, he was again in America, living in Guatemala, receiving the affection and consideration of all on account of his "charming conversation" and because of his dignified bearing in spite of poverty.

Now, quite possibly, it was just this gift of pleasant talk, this habit of holding agreeable converse with his fellowmen,

⁴ R. Putnam, *William the Silent* (New York, 1895), I, 132.

that enabled him to retain vivid pictures in his memory of those early stirring years in America, when all had been so impressive and strange to the European. If, like a modern veteran in club or even in country store, Bernal Díaz had frequently rehearsed his experiences in the one hundred and nineteen battles of his active life, the incidents had undoubtedly crystallized into narrative form, and were ready for use when he came to write them down. It did not occur to him that those memories, vivid as they were to him, were historical material, until nearly half a century had elapsed. This Spaniard was a typical veteran of all time, the very counterpart of his later brethren of Waterloo and the Civil War—men who never thought of posing as literary people until they found that chroniclers were treating—or mistreating—history that they themselves had assisted to make. Imagine one of our volunteers of '61 reading, in current magazines of 1910 or thereabouts, faulty and one-sided statements of engagements *quorum magna pars fuit*, and one has a suggestive counterpart of Bernal Díaz. Having just perused Las Casas, he decides to go to work and see what he can do in carving rich material with tools that he is only too conscious are not perfect. Then a copy of Gómara's *Historia de las Indias*, published in 1552, falls into his hands. At first, Díaz is enraptured with the easy flowing style, the polished diction. He feels that he, the rough soldier, is terribly ill-equipped to enter the field of literature where trained writers are at home. He declared that their elegance made him blush for his rude and unskilled style. He was ready to abandon his plan in despair. But when he read further, he found the account full of misrepresentations. The fame of Cortés was enhanced and all credit given to him without consideration of the fact that he would have been helpless had not his captains and soldiers been brave and valiant, though of them there was scanty mention!⁵

⁵ B. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Genaro García, ed., Mexico, 1904-05), I, 50. For the English version see B. Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (A. P. Maudslay, tr., London, The Hakluyt Society, 1908-16), I, 66.

He resumed his task with fresh vigor, and struggled on at it, taking about four years (1568-1572) for its completion. His first humility after comparing his unpolished true records with Gómara passed quickly. The glaring inaccuracies with which Gómara's *Historia* teemed, the fact that it was a compilation from purely official documents, acted as a spur to the old soldier's memory. So many errors met his eyes! His chief grievance was, naturally, the attribution of all credit to Cortés. And as for figures! Why, Gómara simply did not know what he was talking about when it came to figures, so glaring were his exaggerations. He was "as ready to write 80,000 as 8000."

Indignation and wounded pride vitalize the reminiscences into a delightful human document. Much of the *True History* carries conviction that the veteran's memory had not played him false. Again, it must be considered that the half-century intervening between action and the recording thereof had brought, little by little, stores of new knowledge to men, and that it was difficult for the writer invariably to discard more recently acquired data in treating of a time when he could not have known that which was current talk at the time of putting pen to paper. He may not always have distinguished between the two classes of mental baggage. Life had gone on in Mexico, discoveries had been extended, and, above all, names had become attached to localities that had been nameless to Europeans fifty years previously. Many circumstances are never noted until they have been in actual existence a long time. But to get to the point under consideration. Bernal Díaz makes a reference to the same romance or cycle of romances that the Prince of Orange used to denote a class of typical pleasant reading. This is his description of the famous approach to the capital of Montezuma:

The next day, in the morning, we arrived at a broad causeway, and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed and said it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend

of *Amadis*, on account of the great towers and cues and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers even asked whether the things we saw were not a dream. It is not to be wondered at that I write it down in this manner, for there is so much to think over that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard of or seen before.⁶

In glancing at this reminiscence, note that it was not his own reflections that Bernal Díaz was recalling. It is not as though he were proudly using his superior literary knowledge in making the allusion to romantic tales. No, he gives the impression of remembering clearly how a buzz of comment passed along the advancing column from man to man, much as when the German troops approached the Arc de Triomphe on March 1, 1871, a season when the city on the Seine looks her prettiest, and paused to look down on Paris illuminated by brilliant spring sunshine. For one moment the soldiers were silent. Then "*Wunderschön*" sprang to the lips of the foremost companies and rippled along the ranks.

Surely here is a fair indication that an allusion to current fiction was comprehensible to the rank and file of Spanish adventurers!

Mr. Prescott turns our veteran's phrase into a picturesque statement: "A scene so new and wonderful filled their hearts with amazement. It seemed like enchantment; and they could find nothing to compare it with but the magical pictures in the *Amadis de Gaula*."⁷

There is still another proof of such familiarity in the text of *The True History*. Bernal Díaz says that they called a boastful man, weak in deeds, Agrayes—another character in the novel.⁸

⁶ Díaz del Castillo, *The True History* (Maudslay, tr.), II, 37.

⁷ W. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1860), II, 62.

⁸ Southey points this out in his preface to his English version of *Amadis* (London, 1803), I, xxxiii. His theory is that the tale was already well known from its unprinted Portuguese original, because he infers that Montalvo modified the character of Agrayes and made him less conspicuous than he originally was.

The successful adventurer, Hernán Cortés, had no intention of resting content with his Mexican exploits after he had finally reduced the city that had seemed so wonderfully strange and beautiful to the invaders. He was most anxious to push on to further explorations and find treasures more wonderful still. In his letter of May 15, 1522, to Charles V, he describes the reports he had received from Pedro de Alvarado, whom he had sent to "subjugate the province of Tututepeque, forty leagues beyond Guaxaca, near the South Sea, where they did much damage to and made war against those who had given themselves as Your Majesty's vassals, and those of the province of Tututepeque, because they had allowed us to come through their country to discover the South Sea." After mentioning a plot against Alvarado, concocted in Tututepeque, Cortés continues:

When God had disclosed this baseness, he [Alvarado] had feigned ignorance, and, as if accidentally, had carried the chief and his son with him, and had decided to keep them in his power as prisoners; they had given him twenty-five thousand *castellanos*, and, from what the vassals of that chief had told him, he believed there were greater treasures. The whole of the province was as well pacified as possible, and they carried on their markets and commerce as before. The country was very rich in gold mines, for in his presence they had taken possession of it for His Majesty, where, in his presence, they had taken out a sample of pearls which he likewise sent me, and which I send to Your Majesty, together with the sample from the gold mine.

As God our Lord had well guided this business, and fulfilled my desire to serve Your Majesty on this South Sea, being as it is of such importance, I have provided with so much diligence that in two of the three places where I discovered the sea, two medium-sized caravels and two brigantines are being built; the caravels for the purpose of discovering, and the brigantines to follow the coast. For this purpose, I sent, under a reliable person, forty Spaniards, amongst whom go shipmasters, ship-carpenters, woodsawyers, blacksmiths, and seamen; and I have sent to the city for sails, nails, and other things necessary for the said ships, and all possible haste will be used to finish and launch them. Your Majesty may believe that it will be a great thing to accomplish this, and the greatest discovery since the discovery of the Indies will be rendered to Your Majesty.⁹

⁹ H. Cortés, *The Five Letters* (F. A. MacNutt, tr., New York, 1908), II, 142-144; F. A. Lorenzana, *Historia de Nueva España, escrita por... Hernán Cortés* (Mexico, 1770), pp. 315-16.

There were delays, however. Two years pass, and still nothing more is known of the South Sea. In his fourth letter October 15, 1524, Cortés has much to say of the reports he has heard in regard to the regions round about. For instance, in one region, where there was danger of an universal uprising against the civilizing Spaniards, his lieutenant managed to seize a "woman whom all in those parts obeyed and everything quieted down because she sent to all the chiefs and commanded them to observe whatever was ordered in Your Majesty's name, as she herself intended to do, etc."

Then he tells how some of the Indians were disposed to be friendly with the Spaniards, simply because other Mexican tribes were hostile to them; a deputation from Impilcingo comes to seek help from Cortés against their native foes. This is a province near the South Sea, and Cortés is quite ready to push out in that direction.

He proceeds to describe the expedition of his men to give the desired aid. When their mission was accomplished, they were to march on to the new city of Zacatula. Other provinces, too, had sent to offer themselves as vassals to his Caesarian Majesty, namely, Aliman, Colimante, and Ceguatan.¹⁰

He [Cortés' lieutenant] wrote me from there all that had happened, and I ordered him to seek a good site to found a town which he should call Coliman, like the province, and I sent him the nominations for alcaldes and municipal officers, directing him to visit the towns and peoples of those provinces and to bring me the fullest reports of the secrets of the country. When he returned, he brought this report, as well as certain samples of pearls; and, in the name of Your Majesty, I divided the towns and those provinces among the settlers who remained there, who numbered twenty-five horsemen and one hundred and twenty foot-soldiers. In his description of these provinces, there was news of a very good port on that coast, which greatly pleased me because there are few; he likewise brought me an account of the chiefs of the province of Ceguatan, who affirm that there is an island inhabited only by women without any men, and that, at given times, men from the mainland visit them; if they conceive, they keep the female children to which they give birth, but the males they throw away. This island is ten days' journey from the province, and

¹⁰ Cortés, *The Five Letters*, II, 177.

many of them went thither and saw it, and told me also that it is very rich in pearls and gold. I shall strive to ascertain the truth, and when I am able to do so, I shall make a full account to Your Majesty.¹¹

Here we have a definite statement of what was in Cortés' mind when he was planning the expeditions to the South Sea. The coast was not wholly unknown to the Spaniards by 1524, which was ten years before Cortés himself crossed the gulf. Some of the adventurers had been along the coast and culled bits of information more or less inexact, owing to their ignorance of the native dialects. Rumors of all kinds were inaccurately heard before they were repeated, and did not gain accuracy in their transit, while every story was colored by preconceived notions, the true and the false telescoped, superimposed, or set in mosaic, as the case might be. No one among the *conquistadores*, cosmographers, and historians, was capable of judging the true value of the morsels of information each handled. One powerful woman chief had been found among the chiefs of the tribes. That fact was valuable testimony in weighing the chances of finding the Amazonian island spoken of by many an adventurer out in the Western world. Whether she was a charmer or not, she led them on.

But Cortés found it expedient to delay temporarily his search for gold-bearing islands. Spices were surely waiting for the Spanish ships far in the East. If those vessels could only make quicker passage between the Moluccas and Spain, the gains would not be doubtful. There must be a strait north of the one

¹¹ Lorenzana, *op. cit.*, p. 349, note 3: "Este pais solo de Mugerres, que expresa aquí Cortés, es el que llamaron por entonces de las Amazonas, que creyeron habia, y se descubrió falso."

Note 4: "Ya está averiguada, que la California no es Isla segun la creyeron algunos, sino Península."

This last, stating that it is proven that California is not an island but a peninsula, is significant as showing that the Amazon story as related by Cortés was connected with the land he afterward discovered. In 1769, therefore, it was assumed that the land associated with this persistently recurring fable was the California on which Cortés landed.

A note to the Dutch version of Cortés' letters shows another attitude of mind. It says: "That the Island was a fable can be seen from the story itself. The conclusion is confirmed and made perfectly clear by the knowledge that all attempts of Cortés to discover the Island remained fruitless."

found by Magellan. That was to be discovered with as little delay as possible—that wonderful opening between North and South America. Cortés decided to postpone his prospecting on the South Sea until the precise whereabouts of that “doubtful strait”—*stretto dubitoso* as it is called on one map—should be ascertained. Later, in his letter of October 15, 1524, he says, after explaining his project of sending an expedition along the Atlantic coast to search for the strait:

I likewise expect to send the ships I have built on the South Sea . . . along the coast at the end of July in this year 1524, in search of this same strait; if it exist, it cannot escape both those who go by the South Sea and those who go by the North; for the South Sea expedition will go until they either find it or reach the country discovered by Magellan, and those of the North, as I have already said, until they reach the Bacallaos [the Sea of Codfish]. Thus, on the one hand or the other, we shall not fail to discover the secret.¹²

The writer proceeds to assure his liege lord that he is making this strenuous effort to find the interoceanic passage only because he has been told that its discovery would be greater service to the Crown. His own preference would have been to pursue his explorations out into the South Sea. He had, however, renounced his own hope of profit to do his sovereign's will. He adds: “May the Lord grant it as He pleases, and may Your Majesty's desire be satisfied and my wish to comply with that desire be gratified.”

The prayer was not answered and the renunciation of one plan did not win success for the other. Everything seemed to block Cortés in his progress toward South Sea explorations. The difficulties of transporting materials for ship-building had been great, and the first lot, laboriously brought across the

¹² Assimismo pienso embiar los Navios, que tengo hechos en la Mar del Sur, que, queriendo Nuestro Señor, navegarán en fin de el mes de Julio, de este año de quinientos, y viene, y quatro, por la misma Costa abajo, en demanda del dicho Estrecho (Lorenzana, p. 384).

The free translation makes it plain that Cortés meant to go north. Undoubtedly this is the correct interpretation, although Cortés distinctly says *abajo*. But “down north” is still used in Cape Breton Island today, and Bancroft points out that Cortés frequently uses *costa abajo* to mean *up the coast*, that is northbound. See *North Mexican States*, I, 21.

mountains, had been destroyed by fire—nothing left but the anchors. There had been, too, the delays on account of other pressing affairs, and then came this need of using his ships to look for the strait. Did the *conquistador* try to soothe his restless spirit by reading light literature? How I wish we knew! If he did, what books, in addition to that one novel which Bernal Díaz quoted, might have been accessible to him and his Spaniards in those years when he was baffled in getting down to the South Sea, and when he was dreaming of its secrets?

There were really a good many romances in circulation in Spain by that time, although, of course, their importation into the colonies does not necessarily follow. After *Amadis de Gaula* came a long line of imitations. And the first Spaniard to attempt to float his own fiction upon the fame of that popular novel was the man who introduced it to Spain by his translation. It all came about very naturally. He reasoned that if readers had learned to love Amadis, the perfect knight, they would be interested in the fortunes of his son, Esplandian. He made his plan in advance while he was at work on the three books that he put into Spanish from Portuguese.¹³ Montalvo's part in Book IV is not assured, according to literary authorities, but it is certain that he worked in an original thread of preparation for Book V, even though he was still using a Portuguese basis for the fourth. Amadis, sovereign of Gaula, that strange land of the Arthurian legends, merging vaguely into France and Britain with little regard for Channel waters, lives on in the pages where the victories of his son are exploited—that fifth wheel of his own romance bearing also the title: *Las sergas del muy esforzado caballero Esplandian, hijo del excelente rey Amadis de Gaula*. And it is in this sequel that the word "California" first appears in print, so far as is now known.¹⁴

Montalvo does not claim originality for this fifth book, any more than for the previous four. He adopts a device not in-

¹³ See Appendix B.

¹⁴ See Appendix A for the analogous name *Califerne* occurring in *La Chanson de Roland*, line 2924.

frequent in the field of fiction, and pretends that it was taken from the Greek of the "*Gran maestro Elisabet*," eye-witness of the events described. In order to keep up the illusion, various derivatives from Greek roots are introduced, and it is to this circumstance that Dr. Davidson attributes the coinage of the word "California," but the etymology of the name is not the point under consideration. The question here is simply the relation between the romance and the discoverers of the tongue of land that bore the name, either by chance or by intention. And the story must be looked at so far as it has to do with that same name.

Esplandian's career was marked by incidents natural to an age when the domains of Emperor and Pope were being extended to the uttermost parts of the earth, and when, too, the East had not yet been cleaved apart from the West. When Montalvo was first at work at his translation, Columbus had not crossed the sea. When he began his sequel, possible knowledge of that exploit may be assumed. The date is not fixed, but it was certainly before 1504 that it was completed. In his prologue, the author refers to the Catholic Sovereigns in a way to show that they were both still in life, and Isabella died in 1504. Columbus had been over-seas and back again three times, his fourth and last venture beginning in 1502, and ending after Isabella's death in September, 1504. Magellan had not yet tempted fate; Balboa had not yet looked down on the Pacific Ocean. Part of the world was still ignorant of or indifferent to this wonderful widening out of man's potential habitation, but on the Spanish peninsula there must have been both curiosity and willingness to accept the possibility of strange new things existing far off in the unexplored seas that had just been proven explorable. Montalvo could thus count on a pleasantly credulous public ready to enjoy all the marvels he could bring together on the pages of his romance. The narrative of the adventures and exploits of his hero, Esplandian, was brought down to the time when Armato, king of Persia, invites all the pagan princes to form a coalition against the Christians and to wrest Constantinople

from the Emperor and his Christian allies, among whom Amadis of Britain and his son Esplandian are chief in importance. Armato's letter to the heads of all pagandom makes chapter CXXIII of the novel, the previous chapters being filled with the progress of Esplandian and his development as one of the mighty heroes of Europe. Armato found ready response to his call to arms. Emperors and kings came in person, black and white alike, mighty admirals, *grandes maestros* in the art of navigation. Finally, there were more people than were mentioned in any records since the days of mighty Nimrod.¹⁵ There was widespread interest among all the nations of the earth in the matter, and what wonder that a strange race of islanders was attracted to the fray—to the pitting of strength between Christian and pagan hosts before the gates of Constantinople?¹⁶ Twenty-four chapters are devoted to the gathering of the prowess of Christendom about the menaced Emperor at Constantinople; then the author returns to the pagan uprising and gives the following account of the last allies to join the forces where the Sultan and Armato were chief. Chapter CLVII begins in this wise:

Know ye that at the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to that part of the Terrestrial Paradise, which was inhabited by black women without a single man among them, and they lived in the manner of Amazons. They were robust of body with strong passionate hearts and great virtue. The island itself is one of the wildest in the world on account of the bold and craggy rocks. In their land there are many griffins . . . In no other place of the world are they found.¹⁷

This island of California was ruled by a queen, Calafia, of majestic proportions, more beautiful than all the others, and in the full vigor of womanhood.

¹⁵ "Finalmente, eran tantas las gentes, que en ninguna escriptura no se halla, desde el tiempo de aquel gigante Nembrot."

¹⁶ The fall of Constantinople in 1453 must have been current knowledge, of course, to every one during this half-century that followed the event. It was natural for the romancer to go back of that and give a different outcome to events.

¹⁷ *Las sergas*, chap. CLVII.

The way the information was disseminated is not stated by our novelist, but he is definite in his account; these Amazons, remote from the masculine world though they were, were roused to action by stories of how the Christians were pressing the Turks—all sympathy being with the latter. Calafia proposed to her women to sally forth and carry help to their friends, even though she did not know what *Christians* were, adding as an argument that they would gain fame by such action. Moreover, she remarked that it was rather stupid for her people to adhere to a quiet life and duplicate the existence of their ancestors. "It was like living in a tomb and the present and future would pass without glory as with brute animals." Her maidens are quite ready to be convinced. Five hundred griffins are put aboard ship as auxiliaries in the war to be waged in vindication of the rights of the Turks, and off they sail to the harbor of Constantinople.

The grand Sultan of Liquia and the Sultan of Halapa were among those glad to welcome these strange new allies, headed by Calafia covered with gold and the precious stones, "which are found in the island of California in great abundance."

When the assault of the city was about to begin, Calafia "let loose her griffins." The first result was eminently satisfying. "The animals came forward wildly and seeing the land about them, flew up in the air with apparent delight, and soon they espied many people walking about. They were hungry and joyfully seized on men and carried them off to eat, to the terrible grief of the Christians, whose weapons were futile against the protection of thick feathers." The Turks, standing far away in safety, thought this the most satisfactory hunting they had ever seen. All went splendidly for the pagan forces, until an assault was ordered by the Sultans. Their men obeyed. Then the limited experience of the women-bred griffins wrought unexpected results. *To their eyes any male creature was a foe!* They were unable to distinguish between Christians and the friends of their royal mistress, Calafia! The Turkish allies were

seized with as much avidity as the Christians had been! Being no longer hungry, the griffins simply carried their prey aloft, high up in the air, and dropped them to certain death. Consternation in the ranks of Turks and Amazons! The women hastened to the rescue. They climbed the walls, but their arms of gold proved weak, and the aid they expected from their allies could not be given under the fierce onslaught of the birds. Calafia saw her friends' *desbarate sin remedio*, and summoned the keepers of the griffins to call them off. The fierce birds were perfectly obedient to the familiar voices of the women who had always tended them and were soon safely shut up in their cages again. But the mischief had been done.

The Amazons were in terror lest the Turks should doubt their practical advantage as effective allies, so they quickly girded themselves anew for the conflict and proceeded without their birds to show what they could do by their own skill. Two of the Christian knights, Talanque and Mande, noticing what wonders Calafia was performing with her sword, attacked her furiously, as if they counted her absolutely insane. Thereupon Liota, the queen's sister, sprang to her assistance like a wild lioness, and fought the *caballeros* so mortally that besides losing their horses they were compelled to withdraw.

Calafia now began to feel fairly well assured of victory, and proposed to the Sultan that they two should take matters into their own hands and send personal challenges to Amadis and Esplandian. Accordingly, a very bombastic epistle was drawn up in the names of Radiaro and of "Calafia, *Señora* of the great island of California, celebrated for its great abundance of gold and jewels." It was addressed to Amadis de Gaula, king of Great Britain and to his son, Knight of the Serpent, and it stated that "we have voluntarily come to these parts to destroy the city of Constantinople and to punish the injuries and losses suffered by our brother, King Armato of Persia."

A *doncella, negra y hermosa*, richly attired, carried this challenge to Amadis and Esplandian, who could do nothing less than

accept it, although they were rather contemptuous in their manner of referring to one of the principals in the projected duels.

Calafia, however, was so much interested in her messenger's account of Esplandian's wonderful beauty that she was resolved to pay a visit to the Christian camp in person, nominally to arrange the details for the combat, but really to satisfy her aroused curiosity. The world of men was so new to this islander! When her message, proposing this visit, was delivered to the allies, Amadis began to laugh, and said to the kings, "What think you of this demand?" "Let her come," said King Lisuarte, "it is a good opportunity to see the most noted woman in the world." "Let that be your answer," said Amadis, to the maiden, "and do not doubt that she shall be treated with all truth and propriety."¹⁸

Montalvo is unwilling to portray Calafia as alien to usual feminine characteristics in spite of her unique education in regions remote from Europe. He tells us that she lay awake all night debating with herself as to whether she should wear warrior's gear or flowing robes when making her call upon the enemy. She decides upon the latter. With her train of maidens, all attired in splendid feminine garments very different from their fighting garb, all mounted on strange beasts imported from California, the Amazon queen enters the Christian camp. The older kings are courteous to their guest, but Esplandian will not deign to notice her, so opposed is he to her escape from woman's sphere and to her intrusion into the military world. But his appearance makes a deep impression upon the virgin queen. Very simply and naïvely does she declare—when had the supreme islander had need to conceal her emotions?—that never before had her eyes beheld any mortal as fair as this son of Amadis. It was just a statement of historical fact and does

¹⁸ El se comenzó de reir, y dijo á los reyes: "¿Qué os parece desta demanda?" "Que venga digo," dijo el rey Lisuarte, "que grand razon es de ver una tan señalada mujer en el mundo." "Esto tomad por respuesta," dijo Amadis á la doncella, "y no dudes que con toda verdad y honestidad será tratada." Cap. CLXV.

not interfere with her completing the arrangements for the combat. Her adieux are made bravely, accompanied by the remark that she will look quite different when she and her hosts are confronted on the field of battle.

On the morrow, Amadis is pitted against Calafia and Esplandian against the Sultan. Here the courtly Amadis does not play fair. He had distinctly accepted the challenge on the same terms for himself as for Esplandian, but decided that he was too chivalrous to use his sword against a woman. The Queen began her attack with heavy blows, some falling on his shield, some being evaded by her antagonist. At last, when her lance was broken, Amadis picked up one of the pieces and used it as a weapon to hit her helmet with so much force that Calafia was stunned. On her recovery, she exclaimed, "How, Amadis, do you rate my strength so low that you think you can vanquish me with a cudgel?"¹⁹ And he answered, "Queen, it has always been my character to serve women and to aid them, and you being one, if I should take arms against you, I should deserve to lose all that I had ever won." The Queen said: "What, then? Do you reckon me as one of them? Then you shall see."

Unfortunately the valiant Calafia was unable to make good her brave words. She did succeed in cleaving her opponent's shield with her vigorous sword-stroke, but he forced her to her knees and demanded her surrender. Probably she would not have yielded then had she not seen that the Sultan had just been conquered by Esplandian. Her last trial was ineffective and she acknowledged herself a prisoner, little to her discredit, as Radiaro had already done the same thing. The vanquished combatants were taken into the palace, and Calafia was placed under the care of Leonorina, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople. This lady was betrothed to Esplandian, which was, perhaps, the main reason why he was so cold to Calafia.

¹⁹ Cuando ella esto vió, dijo: "¿Cómo, Amadis? en tan poco tienes mi esfuerza que á palos me piensas vencer?" El le dijo: "Reina, yo siempre tuve por estilo servir y ayudar á las mujeres; y si en tí que lo eres, pusiese arma alguna, merecería perder todo lo hecho pasado." La Reina le dijo: "¿Cómo, en la cuenta de esas me pones." Cap. CLXVI.

The meeting between the two women is a pretty scene. Calafia rises to the occasion and declares that as soon as her eyes rested upon Leonorina, she realized that she and she alone was a fitting mate to Esplandian. Later in the story, after Esplandian's marriage, she declares before the whole court that her lineage was so high, her riches so great, her rank in the world so assured, that she had felt that Esplandian would be a suitable husband for her, but that the loveliness of Leonorina had immediately convinced her that her hopes were futile. Then she added that, having accepted the inevitable, as the wise should do, she was also ready to accept both Christianity and a Christian husband, and thus to enter into "the established order of your law," having recognized the disorder of all the others.

At these words, Esplandian, now Emperor by the resignation of his father-in-law, embraces her, declaring that now she is sensible and that he, who has refrained from saying a single word to the stranger hitherto, now considers her his *buena amiga*, and will give her the hand of his cousin Talanque in marriage.

A mate was also found for Liota, Calafia's lion-hearted sister, the Amazonian army was baptized, California was won for the Christians, and the women became submissive to their sphere and the great Amazonian to the rank of Queen Consort.²⁰ Esplandian's promise to be a brother to her was, doubtless, a consolation to her. Naturally, Christianity and male supremacy had to be victorious in this tale written by a Christian and a man. The whole episode is worth reading as it is full of humor, and the interest inspired in Calafia by Esplandian is treated with great delicacy.²¹

²⁰ El Emperador, cuando por el fue todo oido, abrazandola riyendo, dijo. "Reina Calafia, mi buena amiga, hasta aqui nunca de mi ninguna habla ni razon hubiste...pero ahora que el Señor muy poderoso esta tan gran merced te hace, de te dar tal conocimiento que su sierva te tornes, agora hallarás en mi gran amor, como si el Rey mi padre entrambos nos engendrara, etc." Cap. CLXXVIII.

²¹ The French translations of *Las sergas* are interesting, both for omissions and additions. Seigneur des Essars, Nicolas de Herberay, translated eight books of *Amadis de Gaula*—the real thing and four

After Calafia's marriage the main story is resumed, but just at the end of Book V (chap. CLXXIV) the author reverts to Calafia and her husband. The Queen has a longing to feel arms in her hand again. Her husband graciously accepts her as a joint leader in an expedition against a neighboring tribe on the island of Argalia. Off sails the squadron with the royal pair in command. Of course they proved victorious and Argalia was added to their domain.

This is the closing episode of *Las sergas*, the fifth book of *Amadis*. But the appetite for romantic literature was not sated. The sequels, once begun, go on and on. The author of the sixth book knows not Calafia, but in the seventh,²² she reappears from the island of California and takes part in fresh

sequels, completing Book V, *Las sergas*—about 1542, at a period almost contemporaneous with the discovery of California, the peninsula, that is. When he comes to the episode of Calafia, he makes many variations from the text of Montalvo. The news of the projected expedition against Constantinople came to the ears of the "mighty Queen Calafie, reigning in Californie, an opulent and fertile country which lies at the source of the river 'Boristenes' near the foot of the 'Riffes' mountains." (Thus there is no mention of "*las Indias*" or "*la parte del Paraíso Terrenal*." "This land I speak of was once peopled by good cavaliers and others of all classes, but the women by dint of craft, found means to make them all die, establishing as law among them that henceforth they would recognize a Queen sovereign and govern themselves as Amazons." The account of Calafie's determination to aid the Turks does not differ materially in substance from the original, but it is noteworthy that Herberay uses the term "Californiennes," probably its first appearance in any language in print. Moreover, while he does not describe the queen as a white beauty, he does not use the adjective *black*. The incident of the set-to between Talanque and Calafia is passed over entirely and the messenger who carries the letters from pagan to Christian camp is not specifically made black as in the Spanish. In the Italian version of 1592, the Amazons are black, but Count de Tress (Paris, 1779) entirely ignores that suggestion and adds items to prove that his conception of beauty is necessarily fair. His version—or rather paraphrase—is altogether adapted to suit the refined taste of the eighteenth century. He uses the word "Californie" but once, and makes it a region in the east of Europe. The edition of *Amadis* which he used was a folio (Paris, D. Janot, 1540).

²² See Appendix B. There is some doubt whether the author of *Lisuarte de Grecia* (Libro VII of *Amadis*) knew of *El sexto libro... Don Florisando*, as he goes on, consecutively, with the thread of Libro V. The French translation, the only version accessible in American libraries, so far as I can ascertain, gives *Lisuarte as le sixieme livre... mis en Francois par le seigneur de Essars, Nicolas de Herberay*. See pp. 97, 148, 149, 220, 210, for mention of "Californie." The author repeats some of the incidents of *Esplandian*, under new aspects. The story does not hold the interest.

coalitions in the neighborhood of Constantinople, being now one of the Christian warriors to oppose the pagans, her old friend Armato of Persia among the latter. Eight times, at least, she or her island is mentioned. There was her "California" demanding attention and getting it in 1525, just when Cortés was talking about Amazons; a new edition followed in 1539, and others succeeded this. It is impossible to ignore Calafia if light literature had any weight at all in that period of time. In the seventh book Calafia is rather pervasive. She drifts through the narrative, although she is not very essential. But that is not the case in *Las sergas de Esplandian*. The portion of that romance dealing with California and its lovely black queen disappointed at not being the *dea ex machina* of the siege of Constantinople is nothing more than an interlude.

The tradition of Amazons goes back into antiquity. The word is Greek, meaning simply "equal to man." It occurs in Homer, in Herodotus, and in many later classics, both Latin and Greek. Medieval literature, too, abounds in references to female warriors, notable exceptions to the ordinary run of women. There is one description in Jacques de Vitry of the thirteenth century.²³ But this particular episode, as related by Montalvo, has a certain freshness about it. Is it not possible that the Spaniard had a new inspiration to breathe vitality into the ancient legend?

It seems a fair inference that Montalvo did not complete his own story of Esplandian's victories until *after* Columbus came back from his first voyage. Even if it appeared originally in

²³ Jacobi a Vitriaco [fl. 1220], *Historia Orientalis* (Duaci, 1597), chap. XCII. De Amazonibus: Sunt praeterea in partibus orientis quidam homines ab aliis mundi nationibus valde dissimiles. Sunt ibi Amazones egregie in armis & praeliis mulieres juxta montes Caspiae in insula undique fluvio commorantes. Sunt autem plusquam ducenta millia praedictarum mulierum absque virorum consortio seorsum in praedicta insula habitantium. Omnes autem tenentes gladium & ad bella doctissime, quando victrices cum regina sua refertuntur a praeliis, a viris suis, qui extra insulam per se commorantur, adorantur. Semel autem in anno transeuntes ad maritos suos, postquam reversi fuerunt. Si masculum conceperint, ipsum per sex annos nutriunt, & postea patri suo transmittunt. Si vero foemina peperint, ipsam secum reservantes custodiunt. Sicut autem in quibusdam volueribus foemine fortiores sunt quam masculi, ita praedictae Amazones fortiores sunt viris suis: quibus ad bella precedentibus, mariti earum domi remanentes quiescunt.

1496, the author would have had time to incorporate a fresh incident into his nearly finished "copy." It is true that his scheme for covering Esplandian with his father's mantle of fame evidently antedated the great adventure, because he moulded his translation to tally with the extension of the narrative, as already said. *But the whole episode of Calafia of California is not an intrinsic part of that narrative.* It could have been omitted entirely without disturbing matters. Leonorina was the heroine as far as Esplandian was concerned. The even tenor of his emotions was not ruffled by the appearance of the Queen of California, nor did he hanker after her pearls and her gold. He was fully occupied. It seems clear that Montalvo did not need the stranger for his plot. She might have been nothing more than an afterthought when the main structure was practically reared. And we have only to glance at Columbus himself to see why just such a sovereign of just such an island realm as "California" might have been suggested to a novelist's fertile mind to lend verisimilitude to the sequel growing into form upon his desk. Turn to the Admiral's letter "made in brief on board the caravel, at the latitude of the Canary Islands."²⁴ We read that the weather was such that

²⁴ Sunday, January 6.—...The first mentioned island was called, said the admiral, Yamaye [Jamaica]. He also said that he learned that over toward the east there was an island upon which were only single women; this he had heard from many persons. And that the island Española, or the other island Yamaye, was near the mainland, ten days by canoe, which might be a matter of sixty or seventy leagues; and that the people there were clothed.

Sunday, January 13.—...In the island of Española they call copper or base gold *tuob*. The Indian also said of the island of Matinino that it was peopled entirely with women without a single man, and that there was in it much *tuob*, which is gold or copper, and that it lay to the east beyond Carib. He also spoke of the island of Goanin, where there is much *tuob*. The Admiral says that he had had notice of these islands some days previously, and from a number of persons.

Wednesday, January 16.—...He [Columbus] was obliged to forsake the course he thought would take him to the island, and turned NE by E straight toward Spain. Sailing in this direction until sunset, he went forty-eight miles, which are twelve leagues. The Indians told him that in that direction he would find the island of Matinino, which they said was peopled with women without men. The admiral wanted very much to visit the place and carry five or six of the women to his sovereigns, but he doubted whether the Indians knew the proper course, and he could not be detained as it would be dangerous to his caravels, which were making water. He

the admiral found himself obliged to change his course, so as to steer directly toward Spain. Following this new course until sunset, he went twelve leagues, when the Indians told him that if he continued in that direction he would come upon the Island of Matinino, which was inhabited by women. He would have liked to visit the island and take some of the women to Spain, but his vessel was leaky, and he had not confidence in his Indians' ability to guide him properly to the island. Its existence he doubted not at all, nor that it was visited at certain times of the year by men from the Island of Carib, to whom were sent the male children born on Matinino, while the females were kept on the latter island. These islands Columbus was sure lay to the southeast not more than fifteen or twenty leagues from the place whence he had sailed for Spain, but he was unwilling to attempt to proceed thither for the reasons named.

Now, is it not interesting that the son of Christopher Columbus bought a copy of Book VII of *Amadis, Lisuarte de Grecia*, in 1514, the very year it was published in Seville? There is the volume, in the Biblioteca Columbina, bearing the words "*Costó en Valladolid 130 mrs., por Noviembre de 1514.*" If Ferdinand Columbus was willing to pay this substantial price for the new novel, containing more news of the Island of California, is not that proof that romances had a market? In September he had bought Books V and VI at Valladolid for thirteen reals. Evidently he was anxious to read all that touched on the subject.²⁵

If Señor Montalvo had been making a pompous attempt says, however, that it was true that there were such women, and that at a certain time of the year the men came to them from the island of Carib, said to be ten or twelve leagues distant. If they bore male children, they sent them to the island of the men, but if they bore females, they kept them. The Admiral said that these two islands could not be more than fifteen or twenty leagues from the place whence he had set out; he believed that they were toward the southeast, and that the Indians did not know how to show him the course (*Primer viage de Colon* in M. Fernández de Navarette, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos*, Madrid, 1825, I, 127, 134, 139-40). Cf. the translation by Samuel Kettell, *Personal narrative of the first voyage of Columbus to America* (Boston, 1827), pp. 187, 198, 205.

²⁵ Francisco Escudero y Perosso, *Tipografía hispalense* (Madrid, 1894), p. 140.

at a work of scholarly erudition, such as Cervantes sneered at a century later, wherein the writer protects his own reputation with an armor of bibliography, undoubtedly this letter of Columbus would have been referred to as *corroborating* the data about the island of Calafia. Even in the sixteenth century, many book-makers were skilled in the art of erecting bulwarks of titles as lines of defense for their ranks of facts. And then as now, well-directed attacks on the strength of the outpost-numbers could cause serious damage to the scholarly fame of the would-be learned author, such damage as Don Quixote's helmet sustained when treated as though it was bona fide steel.

Montalvo has this degree of likeness to Shakespeare: he gathers his material freely, as a child might pick up shells on the beach and string them together as his own property. Except to "Maestro Elisabet," there is no credit given to anyone for his facts or fancies. Yet, considering the dates, with these passages from Columbus' papers before one, the inference does not seem far-fetched that the author of *Las sergas* gladly picked up a few fresh shells to thread into his narrative and to give it a realistic touch. It seems as though he hardly could have escaped knowing what Columbus had reported. And if he knew, surely this item would have seemed wonderful. Homer proved prophet instead of mere poet! Herodotus and Plutarch bolstered up by this new Daniel come to judgment! Was that not fine for the veracious historical romancer? Did it not suddenly seem as though vague notions of the past were to be verified? What better moment for the novel? Montalvo might have rejoiced indeed, at a chance to please the public with fresh fruits to its taste.

The terrestrial paradise had hitherto been vague as to locality. Sir John Mandeville mentions it (1322) as being somewhere near the Isle of Prester John. That, too, was to be more definitely placed. By 1498, Columbus was on his third voyage, and reached the delta of the Orinoco. He writes: "The terrestrial paradise is situated at the spot I have described."

Here was another bit of local color that possibly was seen in time to serve Montalvo, and to enable him to say: "An island named California very close to that part of the terrestrial paradise, etc."

One of the first writers to spread abroad and popularize the reports brought by Columbus was Peter Martyr. His *Decades*, *De rebus oceanis et orbe novo*, were in the form of a series of letters despatched to Italy from Spain, containing all that he could glean of the tidings from the West. A portion of these *Decades* was in print, for the benefit of a larger public than his correspondents, as early as 1504. The writer had had an opportunity to talk with the commander of a squadron sent home by Columbus after his second voyage. "I questioned him and other trustworthy witnesses, and shall now repeat what they told me, hoping by so doing to render myself agreeable to you." Then he proceeds to relate the experience of Columbus as he had heard the accounts, illuminating the same with lights from his classic lore.

Straight ahead to the north appeared a large island. Those natives who had been brought to Spain on the first voyage, and those who had been delivered from Captivity, declared that it was called Madanina, and that it was inhabited exclusively by women. The Spaniards had, in fact, heard the island spoken of during their first voyage. It appeared that the cannibals went at certain epochs of the year to visit these women, as in ancient history the Thracians crossed to the Island of Lesbos inhabited by the Amazons. When the children were weaned, they sent the boys to their fathers, but kept the girls, precisely as did the Amazons. It is claimed that these women know of vast caverns where they conceal themselves if any man tries to visit them at other than the established time. Should any try to force his way into these caverns by violence or trickery, they defend themselves with arrows which they shoot with the greatest precision. At least that is the story as it is told, and I repeat it to you. The north wind renders this island unapproachable, and it can only be reached when the wind is southwest.²⁶

Peter Martyr found that his news-letters, primarily intended for church dignitaries, were well received by the public. His

²⁶ Martyr, *De orbe novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera* (F. A. McNutt, tr., New York, 1912), I, 73-74.

three Decades, covering events from 1492 to 1516, were printed first, and shortly after the last-mentioned year he began a fresh Decade.

I have delayed somewhat [he writes in his address to Pope Leo x] because many futile particulars, unworthy of remembrance, were recorded. Our Royal Council for Indian Affairs daily received letters devoid of interest written by correspondents bereft of intelligence, from which I was able to draw little material. The one boasted of having discovered the finger of a hand, another a joint of that finger; and they glorified themselves far more proudly and vociferously for having found new countries and accomplished great deeds, than did the true discoverers of the entire continent. They resemble the ant, which believes itself to be crushed beneath a heavy burden when it has taken one grain from an immense heap of wheat sown by another, and dragged it to its underground storehouse. I mean by a finger of the hand or a grain of wheat, all the neighboring isles which dot the sea about Hispaniola, Cuba, and the land supposed to be a continent. For these countries are surrounded on all sides by innumerable islands, like hens with their chicks, swarming about them.²⁷

Then he proceeds to describe some of these islands, and recurs to another form of the same legend that he had heard from Columbus in regard to a more easterly place.

A number of other islands lie off the coast of Coluacan which are inhabited only by women, who have no relation with men. Some people think they live as did the Amazons, but others who have studied the question more closely, believe that they are virgins dedicated to God, who take pleasure in solitude just as those amongst us; or in ancient times, did the vestal virgins or the princesses of the *Bona Dea*. At certain epochs of the year, men cross to the islands, not to have intercourse with these religious women, but out of the spirit of piety to cultivate their fields and gardens, and thus assure their means of existence. The report is spread, however, that there are other islands likewise inhabited by women of bad morals, who from their earliest youth cut away the breast to enable them to draw their bows with greater facility. Men go to these islands to have relations with them, but they do not stop there; I think this story is a fable.²⁸

A few years later than the date of this Decade of Peter Martyr, but still long before Cortés reached the South Sea, Magellan made his record-breaking voyage. He did not live to enjoy honor for his achievement, or even to tell his tale; but,

²⁷ Martyr, *De orbe novo* (McNutt, tr.), II, 3, 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 18.

luckily, the ship which completed the circumnavigation of the globe had on board the Italian, Pigafetta, with his diary. It was Monday, September 8, 1522, when the *Victoria* dropped anchor at the quay at Seville. Not long afterward Pigafetta says he presented to His Sacred Majesty, Don Carlos, "neither gold nor silver, but things very highly esteemed by such a sovereign. Among other things, I gave him a book written by my hand, concerning all the matters that had occurred from day to day during our voyage."

Probably this book referred to thus proudly was a brief record. The *Relacion* was compiled later. On August 5, 1523, he asks the Doge and Council of Venice for copyright on his completed book. "For that purpose I petition that no one may print it for xv years except myself under penalty of a fine of three lire per copy besides the loss of the book."

In this book, too, occurs a mention of an Amazonian island, though now located farther east. As a rule, Pigafetta relates only what he himself has seen. In this instance, he is careful to state that his information is at second hand, at the same time making it clear that his informant is no flighty youth, but a man of experience.²⁹

After touching on Java, the author continues:

Our oldest pilot told us that there is an island called Acoloro [in MS 5650 and in Cà da Mosto *Ocoloro*] which lies below Java Major, where are found no persons but women, and that they become mothers by the wind. When they give birth, if the offspring is a male they kill it, but if it is a female they rear it. If men go to that island of theirs, they kill them if they are able to do so.³⁰

In giving another piece of hearsay information, Pigafetta mentions also "the terrestrial paradise."³¹ "He [the king of

²⁹ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's voyage around the world*. Original text of the Ambrosian MS, with English translation, notes, etc., by James Alexander Robertson, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1906.

³⁰ The original of the above passage is as follows:

In nro piloto piu vechio ne disse Como vna ysola deta acoloro soto de Java maggiore in Quella trovarsi sinon femine et quelle Inpregniarsi de vento et poi Quando parturiscono sil parto et maschio Lamazano se he femina lo aleuano et se hominj vanno aquella sua ysola loro amazarli purché possianno." *Ibid.*, II, 168-70.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 105.

Bachiar] sent as a present to the king of Spagnia a slave, two bahars of cloves...two extremely beautiful dead birds...they never fly except when there is wind. The people told us that these birds came from the terrestrial paradise and they call them *bolon divata*, that is to say "birds of God."³²

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century the transit of news was infinitely slow, while information seemed to cross the sea very promptly. By October 15, 1524, Cortés was fully informed of Magellan's achievement, as he mentions it incidentally in his letter of that date. The events touching the two men on land and sea were, indeed, nearly contemporaneous:

MAGELLAN

August 10, 1519, Magellan sailed from Seville.

Saturday, April 27, 1521, Magellan was killed on the island of Matan.

Monday, September 8, 1522, the *Victoria* completed the circuit of the earth.

1523, Pigafetta's report of Magellan's voyage printed.

CORTÉS

November 8, 1519, Cortés made his first entry into the Aztec capital.

August 13, 1521, Cortés completed the conquest of the capital.

1522, Cortés began to plan exploration of the South Sea.

October 15, 1524, Cortés mentions Magellan's achievement.

It was in the above-mentioned letter of 1524 that Cortés informed the Emperor that he had relinquished, for the time being, his own plans of exploration, and had sent the ships, built on the South Sea for that purpose, to help search for the strait between the oceans. He did not dream that the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific would not be made until 1914! Meanwhile another Spanish fleet under Loaysa had followed

³² There were other wonderful tales current which Pigafetta repeats without vouching for. One old pilot described an island where men and women were only one cubit high, but their ears were so long and wide that one could serve as a bed for their owner and the other for a blanket! Yet another island was nothing but a tree growing in the sea. It was frequented by birds so big that they could carry buffaloes or elephants in their mouths. Boats cannot approach the tree because of the whirlpool around it, but once a little boy, sole survivor of a wreck, was floated thither on a plank. He climbed up into the tree and hid under the wing of a bird and, still in that seclusion, was carried ashore when the bird went hunting, and rejoined his friends! Strange fruit had been found floating about, and now they knew it came from this tree.

Magellan's trail as far as the Moluccas, and in 1527 Cortés was again obliged to use the ships intended for explorations near at hand for a longer voyage in search of Loaysa. Three vessels under Alvaro de Saavedra Cerca set sail from New Spain. But beyond being pioneers in Pacific waters as far as American-built ships were concerned, Saavedra's expedition accomplished nothing, and does not mark a stage in the discovery of California. Bernal Díaz dismisses the matter in the following phrase:

Our Lord Jesus Christ favored them so that they reached the Moluccas and other islands. I do not know the pains nor the hunger nor the sufferings that they had to endure any more than the maladies that afflicted them on that voyage; but three years later I saw at Mexico a sailor who had been with Saavedra. He recounted such wonderful things concerning the islands and the cities that are built on them which they visited that I marveled.³³

Díaz isn't quite sure about what happened to Saavedra, because "it is so many years since it all took place." "As far as what I saw personally is concerned, I can only mention the letter written by his Majesty to Cortés." The letter referred to was the order to send the ships to the Moluccas. This venture was in 1527, but by that date Cortés had found himself in a sea of difficulties. These need to be glanced at before proceeding to the voyages on the South Sea, since his situation had a possible connection with the naming of the peninsula of California.

It must be remembered that the conqueror was in a very critical position in regard to his superiors when he entered Mexico. He had no status whatever as a duly commissioned Spanish officer when he made the conquest in the name of Charles V. He was simply an adventurer without credentials. In being there at all he had defied his chief Velázquez, the governor of Cuba, and thereby made him his implacable enemy. The effort made by Velázquez to check his progress by the expedition of Narváez failed, and actually told against the governor when

³³ Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1904-05), II, 412.

appeal was made to the Emperor himself, who upheld the adventurer, to the intense chagrin of the superior officer. If the venture had not proven successful, the story might have been different. But in 1523, when the *cédula* of Charles V was signed whereby Cortés was made governor and captain-general of New Spain, the prospect of wonderful returns from Mexican wealth made the Emperor willing³⁴ to ignore irregularities in the conduct of the officer who had won it in his name, and to prefer him to the chief whom he had vexed by his insubordination. By a stroke of a pen, Cortés was raised from the status of a rebel to that of an accredited and honored lieutenant of the Spanish monarch. It was Velázquez whose claims were disregarded, whose agents were repulsed or won over to the side of his foe. He had had splendid plans for extending Spanish rule upon the continent from Cuba as a vantage ground, and all the missions he had despatched, expecting them to redound to his credit, had miscarried! The two that had failed utterly were less disastrous to him than the one that had slipped out of his hand and brought fame to Cortés instead of to him. He failed in his attempt to switch that fame back to himself. Two years after the recognition of Cortés, Velázquez died (1524), a disappointed man. But he left friends behind him who continued after his death to espouse his cause as against Cortés. In every way these adherents were on the alert to annoy and harass Cortés, and they succeeded in hampering his movements to a great extent. Everywhere there lurked a hostile spirit, ready to animate malcontents into parties of opposition.

As soon as Cortés had organized a semblance of government for the country, four revenue officers were sent over from Spain to look after the royal interests. Their presence in New Spain made Cortés rather uneasy, as he did not know what secret powers they might hold which would enable them to turn against him in a crisis. It was nothing new in Spanish policy to set officials to spy upon each other, and the conqueror's fears were

³⁴ *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á... América y Oceanía*, XXVI, 59-70.

fully justified. The revenue officers were Gonzalo de Salazar, factor, Pero Almindez Chirinos, inspector, Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant, and Alonzo de Estrada, treasurer.³⁵ They were ready to listen to all stories to the discredit of Cortés, and to believe that he had systematically concealed large portions of his booty, robbing the coffers of the Emperor's tithe to enrich himself. They, too, were disappointed in the riches they expected to find ready to their hand. There was suspicion and intrigue on all sides. And the distrust filtered back to Spain.

The adventures of Cortés in Honduras need not be told here. They are another story, except as his absence on the expedition left his enemies and critics free to damage his reputation with more acrimony. Estrada, appointed by Cortés himself as chief in his absence, was neither very efficient nor very loyal. Intrigue and jealousies became more and more intense during the months that followed, and were increased by rumors of the death of Cortés. Malicious accusations were circulated, attacking him in every way. Thus when he returned from his long expedition he found a very mare's nest of trouble. Moreover, all the charges, with black hints of worse crimes not specified, were promptly forwarded to Spain. A *residencia*, or court of inquiry, was ordered. This was not such a serious matter as it might appear. Such investigations were not unusual. But it did not tend to enhance Cortés' reputation that Ponce de León and Aguilar, successively appointed to hold this court in Mexico, both died before their duty was discharged. Then Alonzo de Estrada was chosen as commissioner in charge. Meantime everything was in confusion, and Cortés was hampered in straightening the tangle of misgovernment by the way in which his foes made capital out of every circumstance adverse to him. They had no hesitation in laying the responsibility for the deaths of the first commissioners at his door, in addition to the other crimes of which they accused him. To escape all this, Cortés finally decided to go to Spain and defend himself to the

³⁵ Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 143.

Emperor. Before his departure there was another arrival in the country whose coming boded no good to Cortés. In 1526, Nuño de Guzman was appointed governor of Pánuco, an appointment due entirely to the influence of the Velázquez faction, as Guzman had been a warm adherent of the late governor of Cuba. He had reached San Estevan del Puerto on May 20, 1527, and from that time he had steadily attempted to undermine Cortés, although there was no outward appearance of hostility at the beginning; but he was a cruel, unprincipled man, wholly unscrupulous in his methods. Guzman's jurisdiction extended in a broad belt from the coast inward, under the name of Pánuco and Victoria Garayana. It was hoped that this region would prove very rich in gold, and that there the still unfulfilled dreams of marvelous wealth would be realized. The new governor found opportunities in the exercise of his power to injure such adherents of Cortés as had their *repartimientos* in his territories. While the latter was in Honduras, Guzman was especially outrageous in depriving these planters of their land on the most frivolous pretexts, in spite of the efforts of Estrada and Sandoval to prevent him. Thus to the confusion already prevailing, new discord was added.

When the investigation into the administration of Cortés was finally held, nothing important came of it, while his journey to Spain seemed to give him new glory. The Emperor made him Marqués del Valle de Oajaca, besides bestowing other honors, among which was the important and somewhat extensive title of "Captain-General of New Spain, the provinces and coasts of the South Sea, discoverer and colonizer of this coast and islands with the twelfth part of his conquests for himself and his heirs."³⁶

Armed with this panoply of imperial confidence in him, Cortés returned to New Spain prepared to continue his explorations on the South Sea and gain fresh reputation. But there was Guzman, equally determined to forestall him if he possibly

³⁶ *Cédula de Carlos V nombrando a Hernan Cortés gobernador de las islas y tierras que descubriese en el Mar del Sur*, November 5, 1529 (Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, II, 401).

could. He too had been zealous in extending the zone of Spanish domination and in reporting his successes directly to the Emperor. He too had heard tales of gold, jewels, and Amazons, all waiting to be discovered somewhere along the South Sea. In a letter of July 8, 1530, the following passage occurs:

"...The next day I made a procession with a Te Deum. Thence I passed the great River of the Trinitie, to come to Omitlan, the chiefe of that Province. The Countrie is very hot, and the River full of Crocodiles, and there are many venomous Scorpions. Here was erected one Church and two Crosses. Aztatlan is three dayes journey hence, where they prepare to give mee battell. From thence ten dayes further I shall goe to finde the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people for Goddesses, and whiter than other women. They use Bowes, Arrows, and Targets; have many and great Townes; at a certain time admit them to accompanie them, which bring up the males as these the female issue, &c. From Omitlan a Province of Mecuacan of the greater Spaine, on the eighth of July, 1530.³⁷

The news of Guzman's expedition must have reached Cortés on his arrival from Spain, and the suggestion that this interloper might anticipate him and actually reach that wonderful realm, so long the lodestar to his purposes, was fresh inducement to him to hasten to assert his rights as "Discoverer of the South Sea," and to maintain his privilege. He bore a title and he was determined that none should infringe upon his monopoly. The legal investigation set on foot to determine the rival claims of Cortés, Guzman, and other Spanish officials, throws much light on the way explorations were carried on, and on the stren-

³⁷ *The relation of Nunno di Gusman written to Charles the fifth Emperour; translated out of Ramusios third Tome, and abridged, in Samuel Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Glasgow, 1906, XVIII, 59-60. Cf. Gio. Battista Ramusio, Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi (Venetia, 1565), p. 333. Ramusio (a learned Venetian born 1485, died 1557), in addition to wide reading, gained knowledge by traveling in behalf of Venice and in the service of Louis XII of France. He began to collect material for his *Navigazioni* as early as 1523. Two volumes were published before, and the third just after, his death. The latter contains many important documents relating to the sixteenth century not known in their original languages, from which Ramusio translated them into Italian. Many of these were translated into English by Richard Hakluyt, and a few by Samuel Purchas.*

uous efforts that were made to cast a cloak of equity over the annexation of new domain to Spanish sovereignty.³⁸

There was to be no irregular "squatting," the share of king and explorer was definitely agreed upon, and the encroachments of the latter or his deceptions were guarded against by various precautions. Every expedition was provided with an accredited public notary (*escribano público*) to draw up an act of possession at each landfall, with regulated ceremonies and proper witnesses. All was to pass decently and in order, native rights, however, being ignored.

The first work that Cortés had to take in hand, in preparation for renewing his plans to make good his rights and privileges beyond the coast line of New Spain, was to equip ships for the purpose. The materials gathered before his departure for Spain were of little use. It was necessary to begin *de novo*. And this he did, determined that nothing should hinder him from completing the project. "May the Lord grant that the devil no longer impede this good work," he writes to the Emperor on October 10, 1530, sure in his own mind that his desire "to know the secret of these parts" was the thing pleasing to Heaven.³⁹ The work was pushed on to completion in spite of all difficulties thrown in the way by Guzman and his friends.⁴⁰ But it was, nevertheless, nearly two years before the pious wish of the conqueror was realized and two ships were ready to set off to find rich treasures and extend the power of the Church. On July 30, 1532, the "San Marcos" and the "San Miguel," with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza as commander of the

³⁸ See *Probanza sobre la tierra del Marqués del Valle... é autos entre Nuño de Guzman, Hernando Cortés y otros in Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á... América y Oceanía*, XVI, 5, and *Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzman*, *ibid.*, XV, 300.

³⁹ "...y por lo que yo conocí del desco que V. M. tiene de saber el secreto destas partes, y porque el que yo traía de emplear mi persona en este descubrimiento, plega á Dios que no permita que el demonio dé ya mas estorbos en esta obra, sino que se cumpla la voluntad que V. M. tiene de servirle, y que por estas partes se predique su santo Evangelio—Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (Pascual de Gayangos, ed., Paris, 1866), p. 506.

⁴⁰ There is conflicting testimony as to the exact details of the fate of the various ships begun, destroyed, and completed by Cortés; see Baneroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 24, 44.

expedition, set sail from Acapulco.⁴¹ Hurtado disappeared into mystery and nothing definite was ever known of his fate, though rumor told various tales. The "San Miguel" was forced to put into a bay where Guzman's men were in control, and where they met with unfriendly treatment that gave rise to fresh rancor between Cortés and his foe. The islands of "La Magdalena," as they named the group later called "Las Marías," were found, but nothing more of note. So far as "California" is concerned, no history was made.

Here was fresh food for complaint about the infamy of Guzman; Cortés did not hesitate to express his indignation, and there were mutual recriminations. But the Marquis was not to be deterred from his purpose. He actually took up his abode near the shipyard at Tehuantepec, in order to supervise the completion of the remaining ships. He writes to Charles V that he is in "esta villa de Tecoahtepeque, ques en las costas de la mar del Sur dando prisa al despacho de ciertos navíos que tengo en un puerto della." The letter is dated January 25, 1533.⁴²

At last, the "Concepción" and the "San Lázaro" were put into commission, not indeed by March, as Cortés had hoped, but at the end of the summer. Diego Becerra was appointed commander-in-chief, as well as captain of the "San Lázaro."⁴³ with one Fortún Ximenes as pilot. On October 24, Cortés bade farewell to the vessels, and on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth the two departed on their mission to follow the trail of Hurtado and

⁴¹ See the *Instrucción* given to Hurtado by Cortés, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, IV, 167; Navarrete, who found the document, wrote an account of the expedition in the *Introducción* to the *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sútil y Mexicana en el año de 1792* (Madrid, 1802), pp. xi-xiii; Díaz del Castillo (*Historia verdadera*, II, 412) tells the story with vague memory of the details.

⁴² *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á... América y Oceanía*, XII, 547; for Guzman's defense, see the *Proceso*, *ibid.*, XV, 341 ff.

⁴³ The official account of the voyage of the San Lázaro is given in Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida y tierras adyacentes* (Londres, 1527), I, 163-172. Navarrete had more material than is accessible at present which he used in his *Introducción* to the *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sútil y Mexicana*, p. xvi. The dates given in the various narratives are not the same. In some cases the year is 1534, but 1533 seems more probable.

to bring back news of him and of the new lands. Almost at once, certainly by the second night, the ships parted company. Grijalva sailed on by himself, saw an island which he named "Santo Tomás"—incidentally he also had a good view of a merman whose portrait duly appears in the official record of the voyage—but no notable discovery was made, although it was rumored that, owing to the hope of wonderful finds, Grijalva had purposely lost sight of his consort so as not to have to share hoped-for profits and glory with Becerra, who was the senior officially in command of the expedition.

The "Concepción" met greater success and experienced greater tragedy. Becerra excited hostility among his crew for some reason. Fortún Ximenes, the pilot, a cosmographer of reputation, headed a mutiny and seized the command, after slaying Becerra. Then he sailed on until he touched land and set foot on what was either the soil of Baja California or an island close against the coast. Díaz del Castillo calls it an island to which he gave the name of "Santa Cruz." Ximenes and an escort went ashore, where they were attacked by unfriendly Indians and met their death. Their comrades aboard ship could see enough of what occurred in the encounter between the intruders and the occupants of the peninsula to look to their own safety. They quickly recrossed the gulf to the better known shore of the eastern side, where they met ill treatment of another kind at the hands of their master's vigilant foe, Nuño de Guzman, again ready to check Cortés enterprises, fearing their "pith and moment." The sailors had an opportunity to tell their tale, however, which proved that the adjacent land was inhabited and that the rumor of pearls on its shores was confirmed. Thus, as far as is known, it was Fortún Ximenes, skilled cosmographer and lawless mutineer, who was the first European to set foot on "California." Díaz del Castillo and Guzman both state that Ximenes applied the name of "Santa Cruz" to the island that abounded in pearls.⁴⁴ Against that, we have the words of

⁴⁴ *Proceso*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á... América y Oceanía*, XV, 346.

Cortés, as will appear later. It is probable that Díaz del Castillo was confused in regard to this point. Lorenzana says that Ximenes reached "the bay of Santa Cruz, or La Paz in Californias, which at that time did not bear the latter name."⁴⁵ In other particulars, Lorenzana follows Díaz del Castillo literally.

The veteran continues his story: The news of the disaster was quickly reported in Mexico, and Cortés was much vexed when he learned it. But as he was a courageous man and his energy was never at rest, he resolved, considering all these failures, to send no more captains but to go himself.

At that moment three ships of fair tonnage were just ready to be launched from the stocks at Tehuantepec. Having received the news that there were pearls at the place where Fortún Ximenes was slain, and having, moreover, always thought of discovering inhabited lands in the South Sea, Cortés was now desirous of going to colonize that coast, as had been agreed upon already with Her Serene Majesty, Doña Isabel of glorious memory, and with the Royal Council of the Indies, while His Majesty was in Flanders. When it was known in New Spain that the Marquis was going in person, it was believed that the enterprise would surely be crowned with success. Soldiers, cavaliers, harquebusiers, archers, and, among others, thirty or forty married men, joined the expedition. All told, they aggregated about 320 persons,⁴⁶ including the legitimate wives. The ships were well provisioned with biscuits, meat, oil, wine, and vinegar, besides other things useful in such cases. Objects for exchange were also taken, besides three blacksmiths with their forges, three carpenters supplied with tools and other things which I do not specify so as not to burden my narrative... As to himself [Cortés], he set out from Mexico, accompanied by Captain Andrés de Tapia and other chiefs and soldiers besides priests and monks to sing mass, and physicians and surgeons equipped with a pharmacy.⁴⁷

The first ship of this well furnished expedition made straight for the "island of Santa Cruz, where the pearls were said to be. They arrived in good time; it was in May 1536 or 1537, I cannot quite remember."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Historia de Nueva España, escrita por... Hernán Cortés* (New York, 1828), p. 492; Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, II, 414.

⁴⁶ Díaz del Castillo, II, 415.

⁴⁷ Cf. Díaz del Castillo, *The True History*; Maudslay, tr., V, 183-4.

⁴⁸ The date was May, 1535.

Cortés was sufficiently pleased with the appearance of the country to send back for the colonists who were waiting his orders on the mainland under Captain Tapia.

They embarked without delay, but were at once assailed by a tempest and driven into the mouth of a big river which they named San Pedro y San Pablo. Profiting by a return of fine weather, they resumed their course and encountered a new tempest which scattered the three vessels. One arrived at the bay of Santa Cruz where Cortés was. Another ran aground and was stranded on the coast of Jalisco. The soldiers on board her, tired of the voyage and the hardships endured, remained at Jalisco or returned to New Spain. The third ship was driven toward a bay which they called Guayabal because there was all about great abundance of the fruit which they call *guayabas*.⁴⁹

It was the vessel that stayed at Jalisco which carried the bulk of the provisions for which Cortés waited eagerly on the peninsula, and its non-arrival caused extreme misery. There was nothing to eat but wild fruits and fish. "Twenty-three of Cortés' escort perished of hunger, while many more were ill and cursed him, his port, and his discovery."

Seeing this, he resolved to go in person on the ship which had rejoined him, with fifty soldiers, carpenters, two blacksmiths and three calkers, to look out for the other two ships, thinking that the bad weather might also have injured them in some way. He discovered one stranded on the Jalisco coast without a soldier aboard. The second was not far away. By dint of force and exertion he succeeded in floating them, and... finally was able to return to Santa Cruz with the three. The soldiers waiting there were extremely weakened from having had no solid food for days, and then they ate meat in such excess that they contracted disease of which many died. It was in order to save himself the sight of so much misery that Cortés departed for the discovery of other countries and fell upon California, which is a bay.⁵⁰

Cortés then wanted to return to New Spain, but tried to hold out longer because he regretted so much money spent without more return. The Marquise, his wife, began to be seriously alarmed about his safety, and despatched two more vessels to his aid. When Cortés read her letters filled with

⁴⁹ Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, II, 416.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 418.

entreaties to come back to Mexico and assume his land and his estate there, he yielded, deputed Ulloa, the commander of the little expedition sent by his wife, to take charge of the colonists left on the peninsula, and returned to Mexico, where he was received with great rejoicing by his friends, who had feared a general revolt among the caciques during his absence.

“For the rest, the soldiers and captains whom he had left on the island and in the Gulf of California effected their return; but I could not say whether they came on their own initiative or if the viceroy and the royal audiencia intervened to give them authorization.”⁵¹

Then Díaz del Castillo gives a brief account of the next expedition despatched by Cortés under this same Francisco de Ulloa. This enterprise was by

the express order of the royal audiencia of Mexico, in furtherance of the promise made by Cortés to His Majesty, as I have related in the preceding chapters. However that may be, they departed from the port of La Navidad in June of the year 153—, I can no longer recall the exact year. Cortés ordered the captain to sail down the length of California, searching for Captain Diego Hurtado, who had never reappeared. In going and coming he spent seven months in his voyage, without accomplishing anything worthy of record, as far as I know, and he returned to the port of Jalisco. Just a few days after Ulloa landed, when he was taking a little repose, a soldier who had accompanied him on the voyage laid in wait for him and killed him, and that is the end of all the voyages and discoveries that the Marquis undertook.⁵²

In his narrative, our old veteran uses the word “California” three times. First: “It was in order to save himself the sight of so much misery that Cortés departed for the discovery of other countries and fell upon California which is a bay”; second: “... all the soldiers and captains whom he had left in those isles or bay which they called La California”; third, this time in the story of Ulloa: “Cortés ordered the captain to skirt the whole extent of the coast and to sail around La California,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 418.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, 418.

and to endeavor to search for Captain Diego Hurtado who nevermore appeared.”⁵³

Before Díaz del Castillo wrote down this narrative, “veracious” to the best of his ability, in regard to the discoveries and mishaps of Cortés, Gómara had printed his *Historia de Mexico*. He too introduces “California” in the story of Ulloa, in two passages: “Del Guayaual atrauessaron á la California en busca de un nauio,” etc., and “Del ancon de Santandres siguiendo la otra costa, llegaron a la California.”⁵⁴ In describing the arrival of Cortés at the place where Ximenes was slain, Gómara says it was “called the bay of Santa Cruz.”⁵⁵ Herrera, writing much later, says that the place where the colony was to be was “Santa Cruz,” but in a later chapter about the Chichimecas, under the year 1550, this phrase appears: “la California adonde llego el primer Marques del Valle que le puso este nombre.”⁵⁶

The usage of the reminiscent Díaz del Castillo (1568), of the official Gómara (1554), and of the historian Herrera (1601) is mentioned before consideration of documentary evidence upon the name of California because they were cited as the first authorities in the original discussion, and because the differences in the way in which these same historians and the conqueror himself refer to the peninsula are part of the story in hand. Certain definite words of the discoverer and his people are preserved to us. First, we have the formal “Act of Possession” recording the assertion of Spanish sovereignty over the newly discovered land. It is a duly attested affidavit, and states that Cortés landed “in a port or bay, and . . . taking possession in the name of His Majesty by virtue of the said provisions . . . gave as name to the said port and bay the port and bay of Santa Cruz.” Martín de Castro, notary of the expedition, drew up the document with all legal formality, and the same was wit-

⁵³ Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, II, 417-418.

⁵⁴ Francisco Lope de Gómara, *Historia de Mexico* (Anvers, 1554), p. 292.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁵⁶ Antonio Herrera, *Historia general* [Madrid], 1601-15, decada VIII, libro VI, p. 178.

nessed by Dr. Valdobiese, *alcalde mayor*, Juan de Gaso, Alonzo de Navarrete, Bernardino del Castillo, Fernan Darias de Saavedra, Francisco de Ulloa, and many others of the *armada* and the army.⁵⁷ The date was May 3, 1535. A little sketch map of the point of land and the *baya o puerto* accompanied the copy of the *Auto de posesión* which was sent to Spain,⁵⁸ so that we have the first outline of the coast of Baja California as it was conceived by the pilot of Cortés.

But this deed or act is not all. The very words of the conqueror written on the peninsula itself a few days after his arrival there are preserved. His letter is addressed to Cristóbal de Oñate at the city of Compostela, and runs as follows:

Noble Sir: On account of the haste of my departure, I did not write to you from the port of Spiritu Santo, and now there is nothing more to tell you than that I arrived at this port and bay of Santa Cruz on the day of Santa Cruz de Mayo, for which reason I gave it this name. I sighted land on the first of May, the feast of the two apostles, and because the point we sighted was among the highest mountains of this country, I gave them the name of Sierras de San Felipe. This same day we discovered an island lying near this land, which was named the island of Santiago. Immediately afterwards, we saw two others, one is called the island of San Miguel, and the other San Cristoval. I was delayed sixteen days on the voyage because of many calms and the bad weather I experienced. Of all my outfit six horses are missing, among which was the one named El Hoverico, which I consider a great loss. All the other horses and all the men arrived in good condition. [He adds that he cannot yet tell anything about the lay and nature of the land, but that they had seen many people, some of whom had quantities of pearls, proving that there is a pearl fishery; that he will go into the interior of the country when these two ships depart. He charges him (Don Cristóbal) to give his compliments to the governor and the protector, and to forward some letters, which he had addressed to the *licenciado* Altamirano, cousin of the Marquis.]

From the port and bay of Santa Cruz, May 14, 1535. Yours to command, the Marquis.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, IV, 190-192.

⁵⁸ Dr. E. E. Hale was the first to find this rare little map, in 1882; he furnished Mr. Justin Winsor with the sketch given in his *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1886-89), II, 442. We have now a better facsimile.

⁵⁹ Extract, in the hand of Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, volume 80 of his collection, folio 137, Academia de la Historia; in Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, *Actas de la Cuarta Reunion*, Madrid, 1881 (Madrid, 1883), II, 332-3.

Here are phrases that prove unequivocally that Cortés named the land across the gulf "Santa Cruz," for the very natural reason that the day when he took formal possession of it in the name of his sovereign chanced to be the church festival of the Holy Cross. That was very usual procedure. He certainly knew nothing of "California" in that connection. In a memorial of some five years later, presented to the king, he says distinctly that because his lieutenant Hurtado had met with misfortune, he had gone in person to pursue the said conquest, and had reached the land of Santa Cruz and was in it. He repeats the name several times.⁶⁰

Still it is rather curious that this name does not seem to have made as much impression on all members of the conqueror's company, limited as its number must have been, as might be expected. In the same year, 1535, there was a hearing before Juan de Samaniego, *alcalde ordinario* of the city of Compostela in Galicia, concerning conditions in the lands of the new discoveries. One witness was asked the name of the place where the Marquis had been. He answered that no name was given to the land, nor was any city founded; that the port was called the bay of Santa Cruz. Another fragment of the testimony is noteworthy. It was given on December 10, 1535, while Cortés was still on the peninsula.⁶¹ The witness had seen too much of the hard side of the colonizing scheme to be favorably disposed toward Cortés.

Being sworn, he said that he had known Cortés about five years. Asked the name of the place where the Marquis was, he said that it was called Tarsis;⁶² that in that country there was nothing to eat, neither corn nor any other grain, only some peach-like fruit found on thorny trees, and certain pods of plants similar to lentils; the latter are hulled, ground, and eaten, but all that a person can gather in a day is not enough to feed him,

⁶⁰ *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, IV, 210-211.

⁶¹ The testimony taken in Mexico in 1535 was examined in Spain in 1540. *Probanza sobre la tierra del marques del Valle*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á . . . América y Oceanía*, XVI, 5 ff.

⁶² Is there a possible link between "Tarsis" and the river of "St. Paul?"

because so little is got out of them; and he said that the trees there were the above-mentioned, from which they gather fruit, and others that bear something like plums; and that there are other, non-producing trees, but very few; the latter had been nearly all cut down; in that country they found a stream with a little water, and they gathered at some pools where they drank; there was no grass for the horses, because the ground was very dry and sandy.

Asked how many Indians were found and seen, he said: that some said there were one hundred and fifty; others, two hundred; those that he himself had seen might have been seventy or eighty; they were well disposed, and went about naked; the women wear petticoats of grass, and, so far as he saw, they ate and lived upon roots, herbs, and fish.

Asked when the Marquis embarked how many horsemen he took, he said: that they shipped about one hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry, more or less; of negroes, upwards of sixty; of friends and free Indians, a hundred or more.

Asked how many persons died after the arrival of the Marquis in the said country, Spaniards as well as blacks and others, he said: that two Spaniards died of hunger; of the negroes and Indians he does not know how many, but it was said that a great many died; other people who remained with the Marquis were very weak and debilitated when the witness left the country; this witness believes that more than half of them are dead, unless they have been rescued.⁶³

About the time of the failure of the scheme to colonize the peninsula—its insular character still more than believed in—something happened to give fresh impetus to the explorers' zeal.

In the month of May, 1536, four weary, footsore travelers arrived in the province of Culiacán. They were Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, and Estevanico, an Arabian negro slave. It was a strange tale of wanderings and of hardship that they had to tell the first fellow-countrymen whom they had spoken with in nine long years. In 1527, they had set out from Florida in the company of Panfilo de Narváez; they, the surviving remnant of that large party, had tracked through the wilderness, unknown to white men, spending the entire nine years in making their way from the one Spanish settlement to that of New Spain—a terrible journey, indeed. Virgin soil and forest land seemed to be all they had actually seen, but they had heard from

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, XVI, 12-13.

Indians stories of wealth and civilizations, rude, perhaps, but rich, to the northward of their line of march, rumors of the Seven Cities and accumulated wealth—the kind that the Spaniards longed to find waiting for them in this New World.⁶⁴

Guzman was the first Spanish official to see these newcomers. He received them more kindly than he had the survivors from Cortés' little fleet, and speeded them on their way to the capital, where they made their report to the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, as well as to the Marqués del Valle.

By this time Guzman's career was nearly run and he was no longer in a position to be a formidable rival to Cortés or to hamper his projects, but this did not leave the Marquis free to pursue his course unchecked. The new viceroy considered that his commission included capacity to explore as well as to perform other service for his royal master, in spite of the express permission granted to Cortés to enjoy a monopoly of the South Sea. Accordingly, Mendoza empowered Coronado, the recently appointed governor of Nueva Galicia, to organize fresh expeditions, using the information given him by these overland travelers. The first preparations came to nothing, but at last, in May, 1539, a small party of Franciscans and freedmen, guided by Estevanico, the negro of Cabeza de Vaca's party, set off and penetrated far into the interior, the territory of the present New Mexico. Marcos de Niza, one of the Franciscans, wrote a glowing account of what he claimed to have seen and to have heard from trustworthy witnesses. He did not tell rumors. His story bore the air of real testimony. There were, indeed, seven cities, there in the north. All that there was for the Spaniards to do was to carry Christian doctrines thither and impose them on the not reluctant Indians, quite ready to swear fealty to the Emperor and to give their best as tribute. It was to be an easy conquest! Few documents have given rise to as much

⁶⁴ *Relation et naufrages d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux*, Serie I, Tome VII, Paris, 1837. *The journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*; translated by Fanny Bandelier, New York, 1905. See Bancroft, *North American States*, I, 62, for other references to Alvar Nuñez' journey.

controversy as has this narrative of Friar Marcos. Coronado hastened to report the whole matter from the beginning to Mendoza, and the viceroy wrote posthaste to the Emperor "because their journey fell out to greater purpose than was looked for."⁶⁵

The moot point has been: Did the friar simply fabricate his descriptions of people who wore precious stones as ordinary ornaments and covered their temples and even household utensils with plates of pure gold? Perhaps Marcos was deceived by words only half understood, meaning to him what the Indians had no idea of saying. However that may be, his narrative was taken at its face value, without discount for uncertainty. The desire to hasten up to the Seven Cities, so long elusive, spread like wildfire through New Spain. The effect of Niza's descriptions, not their truth, concerns the present inquiry.

The story as told by Marcos de Niza himself has no direct bearing on the name of the peninsula, but the English version of Ramusio's Italian translation of the undiscovered Spanish original has suggestive side notes. The friar says:

I saw nothing worthy the noting, save that there came to seeke me certaine Indians from the Island, where Fernando Cortéz the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an Island, & not firme land, as some suppose it to be. They came to ye firme land upon certaine rafts of wood; and from the maine to the island is but halfe a league by sea, little more or lesse. Likewise certaine Indians of another island greater then this came to visit me, which island is farther off, of which I was informed that there were 30 other small islands, which were inhabited but had smal store of victuals, saving 2, which have Maiz or corne of the country. These Indians had about their necks many great shels which were mother of Pearle; I showed them perles which I carryed with me for a shew, and they told me that there were in the Islands great store of them, and those very great; howbeit I saw none of them.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi*, pp. 356-59; Hakluyt, *The third and last volume of the voyages* (London, 1600), pp. 366-373.

Richard Hakluyt, preacher (b. 1553, d. 1616), was inspired with the same idea as Ramusio. His third volume is devoted to the "fourth part of the world." He does not hesitate to make free use of what the Venetian gathered together, which he translated with fair accuracy, but with the differences noted in the text.

⁶⁶ Hakluyt, III, 366.

In this translation, the English follows the Italian closely, but Hakluyt adds an original side note: "A great island and 30 small islands which seem to be the new islands of California, rich in pearles." Two more side notes are the Englishman's invention also: "Vacopa, a town 40 leagues from the Bay of California," and "Great pearles and much gold in the isles of California, which are 34 in number." This last refers to the following passage:

[I waited] the return of my messengers which I had sent unto the Sea, which returned unto me upon Easter day bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coast, and of two of the Islands.... They informed me of foure and thirty Islandes, lying one neere unto another.⁶⁷

Bitter recriminations between explorers and accusations of using each other's material and information are not characteristics of latter-day adventurers alone. Cortés declared that the friar had gathered suggestions from him which he gave back to the public as his own experiences. The Marquis had thought of attaching Marcos de Niza to his service, and, in preliminary negotiations, had mentioned certain pieces of intelligence that he or his people had picked up from the Indians at various times. Later, the friar incorporated this same matter into his reports as though it were original. The Marquis also accused the friar of having committed acts of treachery in other parts of the Spanish colonies and of being a discredited and unreliable person.⁶⁸

But the Marquis had not waited to see what Mendoza's people would accomplish. His great desire was not only to learn "the secret of the Gulf," but to accomplish this *before* the viceroy, and to make good his vested rights. Almost contemporaneously with this northward march of Marcos de Niza, Cortés' preparations were completed for another attempt to find out all there was to know about that sheet of water and its shores. Francisco de Ulloa commanded the last voyage of exploration that Hernán Cortés had in his power to put into commission.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ramusio, III, 356.

⁶⁸ *Memorial que dió al Rey el Marqués del Valle*, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, IV, 212.

Friar Marcos departed from the town of San Miguel in the province of Culiacán on Friday, March 7, 1539, while Ulloa's little fleet of three vessels, the "Santa Agueda," the "Trinidad," and the "Santo Tomás," set sail from Acapulco on July 8 of the same year. They were gone seven months, and Díaz del Castillo declared that there was nothing to show for the voyage. But that is not true. The peninsula was rounded for the first time, and the record of the voyage was written down by two participants in the venture—Francisco Preciado and Pedro de Palencia. The last-named was a notary public, especially appointed to safeguard Cortés' interests by making affidavits of all discoveries and drawing up legal certificates (*autos de posesión*), to show to the world whose claim was staked, and to whom the newly endowed owner owed thanks for the extension of his territory. The report made by this Pedro de Palencia was addressed to the Marqués del Valle, by order of Francisco de Ulloa, and duly delivered to an official of Cortés, while that same captain was still at sea. A certified copy of the document with its appendices was made in the City of Mexico by another notary, Alonzo Díaz de Gibrleon, on May 29, 1540.

The great interest of this authenticated record of Ulloa's voyage lies in the fact that, prior to its discovery at Seville within the last five years, the sole authority was the account given in Italian by Ramusio, translated into English with some slight modifications, by Hakluyt.⁶⁹

Ramusio put into his own tongue the narrative made from the notes or journals brought by Preciado: "This relation was

⁶⁹ The Palencia document is in the archives at Seville, where, apparently, it had escaped notice until it was copied for Mr. Irving Berdine Richman among material collected for his *California under Spain and Mexico* (q. v., p. 365). It has not been printed (1917), and all previous writers on the discovery of the peninsula say with Dr. Davidson, "There is no early Spanish publication or record of his [Ulloa's] discoveries. The Italian account, etc." There are ninety-one foolscap pages in the transcript, which Mr. Richman has most kindly permitted me to use. The caption is as follows: *Testimonio donde se expresan los descubrimientos que hizo el Capitan Francisco de Ulloa, por orden de Hernan Cortes en la costa Norte de Nueva España, con una relación de su viaje desde Acapulco hasta la Isla de los Cedros, Méjico, 29 de Mayo, 1540, A. G. de I., Estante 1, Cajón 1, Legajo 1.*

taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him," as Hakluyt puts it in his easy phrasing of the original Italian.⁷⁰ The Spanish original of Preciado's narrative is still missing. But we now have a satisfactory substitute for it in this authoritative Spanish original of the official report, written by a notary, duly attested by a second notary, and placed in the hands of Cortés at the request of Ulloa, he not daring to carry the precious document further when he sailed on beyond the island of Cedros. The writer is very conscious that he is trained in law and not in nautical terms, and he calls attention to the "little drawing or chart" accompanying his text, as possibly more correct than the latter. The scrupulous notary's words are (referring to his own account as compared with that of the pilot):

This narrative should conform to that [latitude, etc.] taken by this latter, because I consider him a man who knows his business well, especially in all that relates to the latitudes, and besides this, he carries his astrolabe and other things in good condition, and at any point where he [has them] not he has those of Juan de Castellon, and for this reason I have followed his [account], and there are seven affidavits in this narrative of the possessions taken for your lordship in the lands by which we passed, &c.

He describes his record as a

memorandum in regard to the voyage and discovery made in the name of our Lord from the time Your Lordship's armada left the port of Acapulco when it went on the said discovery the eighth of July 1539 until it reached the island of Cedars, and returned Monday the fifth of April, 1540. In the first place we sailed from the port of Acapulco on the eighth day of the month of July with the ships (may our Lord preserve them), one named the "Santagueda," another the "Trinidad," and another the "Santo Tomás," and in good weather although with recent heavy rain-storms, and the winds were so frequent and high that they gave us some trouble; and sailing along the coast and arriving in the neighborhood of Point Motinuio Wednesday the tenth...of the said month and going on with a light wind...⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ramusio, III, 339-354; Hakluyt, III, 397-424.

⁷¹ *Memoria en relacion del viaje y descubrimiento que en nombre de nuestro señor se a hecho despues que salio esta armada de vuestra señoria del puerto de acapulco que fue al dicho descubrimiento ocho de julio del año de mill e quinientos é treinta é nueve años hasta esta ysla de los cedros á donde quedo y lunes cinco de abril de mill é quinientos é quarenta.*

The status of Pedro de Palencia on the fleet is perfectly clear, while that of his fellow-recounters is not so certain. The assumption that Francisco Preciado was one of the chaplains is weakened by the fact that he was in the thick of the fight more than once. But he might have been a militant brother. He refers to himself in the third person, which is also rather strange. His story runs along with that of Palencia *pari passu*, and it is evident that he, too, is not nautical. Nor does he use legal phraseology. He refers to taking possession of the soil in general terms. His narrative is just such as a traveled clerical person might write. In all essentials, the accounts agree. Pedro de Palencia seems to have been, usually, on board the "Trinidad," while Preciado was on the "Santa Agueda." But Ulloa was in the habit of shifting his quarters, and the notary might have done so too.

... And the Captaine made no great reckoning to approch neere unto them nor to seeke nor serch what the matter was, and perchance because he was not then in the "Santa Agueda," but was aboard the "Trinitie," as his manner was to come and stay there two or three dayes, as well to passe the time, as to give orders for things that were needefull.⁷²

On one occasion, when the "Santo Tomás" met difficulties, Palencia mentions telling the sailors that they could save themselves by working hard and not giving way to their fears. He continues (MS, p. 7):

I having said this to them, they followed their course by the route I had told them and I stayed to wait for the "Santa Agueda," which was coming after, in order to talk with her and tell her what she must do if we followed the other ship, to which I could not speak because Castellon, who was piloting her, tried to keep her away constantly so that I could not speak her.

The "Santo Tomás" was lost, and this led the other ships to cross over to the port of Santa Cruz.

After a stay in that harbor, the two remaining vessels recrossed the Gulf and pursued their course up the coast of the mainland almost to the head of the Gulf, and down along the

⁷² Hakluyt, III, 415.

eastern coast of the peninsula. Seven affidavits are duly taken in the presence of witnesses to show that the land is henceforth within the realm of the Spanish sovereign, and that this extension of his domain is entirely due to the efforts of Hernán Cortés. One affidavit is as follows:

I, Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada, attest and bear true witness to all gentlemen by whom these presents may be seen, (whom God our Lord bless and keep from harm), that on the tenth day of the month of September, 1539, the most distinguished gentleman Francisco de Ulloa, lieutenant-governor and captain of this armada for the most illustrious gentleman the Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, arrived on the river San Pedro y San Pablo which is in latitude twenty-six and a half degrees on the coast of this New Spain towards the north of Culiacán, and asked me the said notary to take his deposition which he then made of his discovery with the said armada from the cape of San Pedro, for the most illustrious gentleman the Marqués del Valle in the name of the imperial king our master and king of Castile, the witnesses present being the reverend father of the order of St. Francis, Fr. Pedro de Aroche, Francisco Preciado, Pedro de Busto and Martín de Espinosa, they being in the said armada; dated the year, month, and day aforesaid; and I Pedro de Palencia, notary public of this armada wrote it according to what passed before me, and in conclusion placed here this my seal in witness of the truth.

PEDRO DE PALENCIA, *notary public*,
MARTÍN DE ESPINOSA,
FRANCISCO PRECIADO.

This point at the mouth of the river San Pedro y San Pablo was about the limit of the land "annexed" by Cortés, and the declaration made there is not a regular *auto de posesión*. Sixty-two leagues farther on, the explorer found a secure shelter. "On account of these harbors we called this port the Puerto de Puertos, and the bay in which it lies the Bahía de la Posesión, because it was the first taken for your lordship on this voyage of discovery."

Five more *autos* are made and duly registered as the voyage proceeds, Francisco Preciado often being one of the legal witnesses. The little vessels skirt the eastern coast of the peninsula on their downward course from the head of the Gulf; they round its point, and sail out into the South Sea and up the western

coast as far as the island of Cedros. For a long time they stayed in that region, constantly baffled by contrary winds. Then Ulloa desired to go on in the better vessel, the "Trinidad," and to send the "Santa Agueda" back to New Spain. He was anxious that Cortés should learn of their success as far as they had gone. Both Preciado and the notary return, the pilot Juan Castillo acting as sailing master. Preciado went ashore at Santiago, the ship went on to Acapulco, and Preciado, when he wrote on May 17, had heard nothing more of her.⁷³

The notary probably lost no time in delivering his report into the hands of an official who took further steps to have it authenticated. Cortés' majordomo, Francisco Sánchez de Toledo, carried the document, together with the seven affidavits, and had the precious papers endorsed by another notary, Alonzo Díaz de Gibrleon, in the City of Mexico. The Marquis himself had not waited to learn the outcome of the voyage. He became convinced that his foes were too strong for him to obtain justice, and started on his last journey to Spain early in 1540.⁷⁴

From this report, a clear story of the venture appears, which is, moreover, supported by that preserved in the Italian. Most of the places can be identified. But here it is not so much the *facts* as the names used by the recounters of those facts which are to be looked at. In the Spanish report there is no suggestion of the word "California" (1540). In Ramusio (between 1550 and 1556) the word occurs three times: "Quivi ei ritrovãmo cinquanta quattro leghe lontani dalla California" (p. 343); "In Tanto vëne l'Interprete Chichimecho dell' Isola California" (p. 347); "Il capitano comãdò che l'Indiano nostro Chichimecho gli parlasse, ma, mai l'intefero, in modo che tenemo al fermo che no intendesse il linguaggio dell' 'Isola California' " (p. 347).

The first of these phrases finds its equivalent on the right day in the Spanish record, although the number of leagues given

⁷³ Hakluyt, III, 424.

⁷⁴ The date of his departure from Mexico is not certain, but a letter by him to Oviedo written at Havana, is dated February 5. See Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, Fourteenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1892-3, Part I, p. 369.

is indefinite, and the place named is *Santa X*. Moreover the interpreter himself comes from there; so that here is an example of the direct application of "California" to *Santa Cruz*. It has been argued that it was impossible to make this "California" of the interpreter apply to the peninsula, since Indians a little to the north on that same tongue of land could not understand the man's speech. But the state of civilization was so low that the language varied every few miles. Alarcón speaks of twenty-three different tongues being spoken on the Colorado River, and repeatedly mentions cases when his interpreter does not understand other Indians.

Hakluyt was less conscientious, perhaps, than Ramusio. It is just in connection with the name that he takes liberties. He writes about half a century later, his third volume bearing the date 1600. A few examples will show his usage:

Questa fortuna ci fece perder la nave di San Tomaso & per haverla smarrita arrivammo al porto di Santa Croce.

Ramusio, III, 339.

...onde furono tra noi varij giudicij & pareri, che questo porto fusse terra ferma, & che si venisse a congiunger con la terra ferma che tenevamo per larghezza della Nuova Spagna.

Ramusio, III, 340.

Queste piogge ci colsero tra l'Isola di Santo Iacomo & san Felipe & l'Isola delle perle all' incontro della terra ferma.

Ramusio, III, 343.

In this storm wee lost the pinnesse called Sant Thomas, and because wee had lost her wee crossed over to the port of Santa Cruz in California.

Hakluyt, III, 398.

Whereupon wee began to be of divers opinions, some thinking that this coast of Santa Cruz was a firme land & that it ioyned with the continent of New Spaine.

(Side-note in Hakluyt: "Some take the land of California to be nothing but Islands.")

Hakluyt, III, 339.

These storms tooke us betweene the Isles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip and the Isle called Isla de perlas, lying over against the point of California supposed to be firme land.

Hakluyt, III, 405.

Chapter heading:

Delle balene che navigando ritrovano. Ramusio, III, 353.

Of the multitude of whales they found about the point of California. Hakluyt, III, 423.

There are several other instances where "California" occurs in Hakluyt's side-notes, where his text still follows the original, as on pages 411, 424, 425. The side-note on page 424 couples Santa Cruz with the other term: "They sail from the Isle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz or California in five daies."

That is, the Englishman, conscious that he knew more than the Italian editor, had no hesitation in applying a name that had become current by the end of the sixteenth century—so well known that it did not even need explanation.

Whether Ramusio took similar liberties in his translation from Spanish into Italian cannot be stated with absolute certainty, because the original of the phrases he translated is not accessible; but it is perfectly evident that the official scribe of the expedition, Pedro de Palencia, never employed the word, that Cortés himself distinctly asserted that Santa Cruz was the name of the land he proposed to colonize, and that his people either used that same term or declared that they did not know that there was any name for it (though one witness had heard of "Tarsis"); hence the inference seems justified that Ramusio, by the mid-century, had heard of "California" from other sources and made use of it, just as Hakluyt added his casual knowledge to his versions.

Who, then, did put "California" on the map? The rest of the story is conjecture.

Cortés did not await the return of his ships. Mendoza was preparing to put two more Richmonds in the field to capture the wealth that Marcos de Niza had pictured in alluring hues; volunteers flocked to his colors, anxious to share in the plunder of the Seven Cities, and Cortés grew uneasy lest the viceroy might snatch the laurels that belonged rightfully to the "Discoverer of the South Sea." He decided to hasten again to Spain to make his representations. The seven years of life that remained to him were consumed in tireless effort to secure the fruits of his early successes. They were miserable years, but Cortés was not alone in his misery. It seemed the final reward of every explorer in the service of Spain.

Very close on the trail of Ulloa's report of what had been seen on the voyage was the report of the maritime division of Mendoza's more pretentious expedition. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was put in command of land forces, while Ferdinand Alarcón with two ships sailed up the gulf. Coronado set off on April 22 from Culiacán, and Alarcón—the port of sally is not mentioned—on Sunday, May 9, 1540.⁷⁵

They never joined forces, though Alarcón heard of the army from time to time, and found some messages buried near trees. Alarcón's report is given in the first person, and he is very sure that his ships discovered "very good havens" which the ships "whereof Captaine Francis de Ulloa was Generall for the Marquis de Valle neither saw nor found." His chief pilot was Domingo del Castillo, whose map, compiled from his own data and from what he must have obtained from one of Ulloa's pilots, is the first to show the whole outline of the peninsula.

The name California appears plainly, but the lettering is not that of the map-maker, and was probably added by Lorenzana in 1771. Alarcón's main exploit was to sail up the Colorado. He has much to say of the Indians, relating quite frankly that he told them he was the offspring of the sun. Possibly that was the reason that the viceroy was not wholly pleased with him—Mendoza may have thought that his lieutenant took too much upon himself.⁷⁶

He, too, hastens to turn in his report. There was so much jealousy and suspicion between all these seekers after truth that every one wished to have his record plain. There is one document relating to Alarcón which is a trifle mystifying. It is entitled: "Instruction for Captain Hernando Alarcón on the expedition to California that he is to undertake by order of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza." It is dated, however, 1541,

⁷⁵ See the letter of Cortés to the Emperor, Madrid, June 26, 1540, in *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, CIV, 491-492, for his characterization of the activities of Mendoza.

⁷⁶ *Relatione della navigatione & scoperta che fece il Capitano Fernando Alarchone*, Ramusio, III, 363-370; *The relation of the navigation and discovery which Captaine Fernando Alarchon made*, Hakluyt, III, 425-439.

and must refer to a second projected voyage of Alarcón. Here, too, "California" is not to be relied on as of contemporaneous date with the text. The endorsement may be late, and it is in the endorsement alone that the name occurs.⁷⁷

The *Relation*, as we have it in Ramusio's Italian and in Hakluyt's English text, contains no mention of "California." The Englishman, however, does as he did with Ulloa's story—puts into side-notes his own later information, "These shoalds are at the bottome of mar Vermejo, or the bay of California," and "The bottome of the Bay of California." Here he anticipates even more than in the Ulloa story, for he carries "California" out into the gulf, where the word contended with others intermittently, until, at last, *Vermejo*, *Vermilion*, *Cortés*, *Caroline*, all yielded their claims and the sheet of water came into its own as the "Gulf of California."

Now, although the word "California" does not appear in Alarcón's story, it does not require a mighty leap of the imagination to infer, by circumstantial evidence, that it might have been tossed over to the peninsula from his fleet, not because the land as seen at the head of the gulf, or as its reputation described it, bore a likeness to the opulent realm of Calafia, but because it was so unattractive and poor, when Cortés had hoped for so much.

Alarcón prides himself on penetrating farther into the "secrets of the Gulf" than the envoy of Cortés had done. On becoming assured that only barren land lay where his lord's rival had hoped to found rich settlements, he or some one of his followers might have said: "There is the wonderful island the Marquis sought—there is the romancer's California," yet they did not follow its shore, but sailed down the eastern coast of the Gulf, along the land that was later to be known as Sonora.

With the thought of how the word *might* have been said,

⁷⁷ *Instrucción que debia observar el capitan Hernando de Alarcon en la expedición á la California que iba á emprender de order del virey D. Antonio de Mendoza*, in *Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida*, pp. 1-6.

one can almost hear the sneer at the end of the *ia*. Sneers in regard to previous explorations are repeatedly intimated. Alarcón mentions in regard to the latitude at the mouth of the Colorado: "I finde that that which the Masters and Pilots of the Marquis tooke is false." And there are other passages where he exploits his own achievements in comparison with those of Ulloa. He, too, brought back many "actes of taking possession of all that Coast." No credit was to be lost that Mendoza could possibly claim.

The land expedition went farther and fared worse. It was not until March, 1542, that the leader, as disappointed as his predecessors, returned to Mexico. "Francis Vázquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits and became madde," is the last news we have of him in the Hakluyt version of the story. There are other reports that make his end less sad. The best story of the events is related by Pedro de Castañeda de Nacera, who was a participant in the expedition.⁷⁸ But he did not write down the *Relación* until twenty years later, so that the fact that he refers to "California" in his text has no contemporary value.⁷⁹

Like Cortés, the viceroy was greatly out of pocket by these expensive and fruitless efforts to track the vast stores of wealth, but he was not ready to relinquish the chase. On June 27, 1542, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed from the port of Navidad in two ships. Juan Paez wrote the journal of that voyage into the Pacific, up the west coast of the peninsula as far as Santa Barbara, where Cabrillo died. The enterprise was continued under the direction of the *piloto mayor*, Bartolomé Ferrelo, as far as latitude 42°.

The coast of the state of California thus was seen for the first time. But Cabrillo, like so many of his fellow discoverers, did not return to reap honors. The interest in the story, here, lies in

⁷⁸ See Hakluyt, III, 373-382, *The relation of Francis Vazquez de Coronado*.

⁷⁹ *Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Nacera* (Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology), Part I, p. 448.

the fact that the word "California" occurs three times in the journal of the voyage, its first appearance in a Spanish document, so far as has been discovered: "Sunday, July 2, we came in sight of California"; "...the point of California"; "...from California."⁸⁰

Thus, in the year 1542, the word, applied to the land, whether rated as *island* or *main*, finds place in the text of a Spanish record, and twenty years later it was put on the map of Diego Guterrez.⁸¹ The point to be noted in its use by Juan Paez is that he mentions it casually as a name well understood. And that is another reason for thinking that its application might have been made during the voyage of Alarcón, the last to see the land before Cabrillo, whose record shows its name in the very first days of the voyage.

Whether "California" were applied to the peninsula in jest or in earnest, because the island of Calafia was taken as synonymous with an Amazon realm, it is interesting that in the very year in which Ulloa rounded the point and entered the Pacific in his search, Francisco de Orellana, one of the comrades of the Pizarros in Peru, sailed down the mighty river of South America, and left on its waters a permanent memento of the deep-seated belief in a woman's sovereignty. The name Amazon was, however, apparently given to the river in all seriousness, when it was assumed that these strange folk inhabited the region. Other names, fitfully bestowed on the great stream, Marañon, Orellana, gave way finally to Amazon.

When Ulrich Schmidt—Hulderike Schnirdel as the Englishman records his name—ascends the river a few years later, there was the same old story waiting for him. Merely a slightly different twist is given to the version that Columbus thought he

⁸⁰ *Relación, o diario, de la navegacion que hizo Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, in Colección de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida, 173-189. Relación del descubrimiento que hizo Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, navegando por la contra costa del mar del Sur al Norte, in Colección de documentos inéditos relativos á . . . América y Oceanía, XIV, 165-191. Translation in Bolton, Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706, pp. 3-39.*

⁸¹ Here first applied to the peninsula, except as in the del Castillo map, as noted.

heard on his first voyage in 1493. Here are a few passages from the story:⁸²

The ninth day we came unto a certaine Village of the Nation Orethuisen, betweene ten and eleven of the clocke. And at twelve of the clocke, being come into the middest of the Towne, we came unto the Princes house.... But our Captaine asked the Petie-King of this Nation, how many dayes Journey we yet had to the Amazonas? from whence he receiveth answere; That wee must yet travell one whole moneth, besides that all the Countrie was full of water.⁸³

Prior to the arrival of the party at the village of the Orethuisen, some of its experiences were as follows:

When we had stayed there foure dayes, this pettie King demanded of our Captaine what our purpose was, and whether we would goe? to whom he made this answere, that he sought Gold and Silver. Therefore he gave him a Crowne of Silver weighing a pound and an halfe. He gave him also a plate of Gold of a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a span broad, and certaine other things made cunningly wrought of Silver, and told our Captaine that he had no more Silver nor Gold: And that these things wherewith he presented him, were the spoiles which in time past he had gotten in war against the Amazonas.

That he made mention of the Amazonas and of their riches, was very pleasing to us to heare. Our Captaine therefore presently demandeth of the King, whether we might come to them by Sea, or by the River, and how much further we had to goe, when wee were to take our journey towards them? whereunto he answered, that we could not goe to them by water but by land, and that in two whole moneths journey.

Thees women the Amazonas, have only one of their pappes, their Husbands come unto them three or four times in the yeere. And if the woman beeing with child by her Husband, bring forth a Male child, she sendeth him home again to his Father, but if it be a Female, she keepeth it with her: and seareth the right pap of it, that it may grow no more, which she doth for this purpose, that they may be more fit to handle their Weapons and Bowes. For they are warlike women, making continuall war with their Enemies. These women inhabit an Iland that is very large, on every side compassed with water, to whom there is no accesse but by Canoas or Boats. The Amazonas have neither Gold nor Silver in this Iland, but they are reported to have great Treasures in the firme land, which the men inhabit.⁸⁴

⁸² *The travels of Hulderike Schnirdel in twentie yeeres space from 1534 to 1554, abbreviated, in Hakluyt Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1906), XVII, 1-56.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

Here again expectation was disappointed. The realm vanished when approached, just as all the other reported feministic islands had done. A few villages from which the males were absent for war or the chase were all that appeared of the much-talked-of kingdom of political and militant Amazons.⁸⁵

To sum up: In 1542 a Spaniard wrote down "California" as the name for the peninsula. He did not give it as a newly bestowed term. That writer, Juan Paez, finds it associated with the land past which Cabrillo sailed. Who put it there? That is still unrevealed. But as already suggested, it might have been tossed over from Alarcón's ship. But that the word originally blossomed on the romantic island of Calafia at the stroke of Montalvo's pen, and was transplanted thence to the point of uncertain insularity, seems more than probable. There is such striking proof of the circumstantial kind! For nearly fifty years, an island, characterized by the strange phenomenon of women living contentedly and managing their own affairs, independent of men, an island rich in gold and pearls, had been lying, according to the unwritten maps of tradition, somewhere out in the western sea, just beyond the ken of the explorer at any given moment, but always to be found the next time. Columbus began this series of observations, unconscious that in giving details he was drawing on the lore of the Greek world. Often it was difficult to discriminate between what was previously known and what was fresh knowledge! Peter Martyr, Cortés, and Guzman all successively repeat the tale, the same in essentials as the classic legend, differing only in details. Steadily the *locale* moves westward to waters still unfathomed. From 1493 to 1543, there was an outlook on the watch for it. Magellan's companions heard of it when the West had turned into the East. There the island had a name, *Acoloro* or *Ocoloro*,

⁸⁵ It is still a fruitful subject for discussion as to whether the Europeans simply threw the ancient tale repeated from classical sources upon the western shores and then picked it up again as though it were a fresh growth, or whether there were some basis in fact that something like an Amazonian form of society did exist in the New World. See Georg Friederici, *Die Amazonen Amerikas* (Leipzig, 1910), for further discussion of the subject.

but no one from the *Victoria* set foot on it. That island, too, was hearsay land only. The single definite and concrete description of this floating island was to be read in Montalvo's romance. Very possibly, as already suggested, it was its presence in Book VII of *Amadis de Gaula* that gained a circulation for that volume refused to Book VI.⁸⁶

When Cortés went to Spain in 1527, he was accompanied by many people. If no copies of *Las sergas de Esplandian* had been known in Mexico previous to that year, it is easy to see how the returned travelers would have been especially interested in the romance or how it might have been quoted by the untraveled to prove that they, too, knew something of the New World "at the right hand of the Indies."

But it is not to be implied that the name was applied by men who even dreamed that Calafia's realm had been discovered. The early comers were perfectly well aware that there were no developed riches to be plundered on the brown soil they had reached in the waters of the South Sea. The disappointment of Cortés' men was terrible, the more so because there was so much rivalry involved. We have noted how anxious Alarcón was to prove himself a more careful investigator in strange waters than Ulloa, the "General of the Marqués del Valle." Cortés and his followers had, undoubtedly, talked about what the South Sea was to yield, and this boasted treasure-trove was unalluring to the view, occupied by very low-type Indians—savages who had not risen above the beasts, so little had the region attracted the more civilized tribes. It is just possible that in some one of those numerous dialects spoken on or near the peninsula, some word might have been uttered that sounded a little like the euphonious invention of the novelist. In describing the first approach to Mexico, Díaz del Castillo says: "And they repeated *Culua, culua, Mexico, Mexico!* And we

⁸⁶ See appendix for discussion of this. It may be added that there came a time when the exportation of romantic literature to the Spanish colonies was prohibited by statute. The Spaniards always made an effort to keep the virgin soil of the New World free from criminals and false doctrine. But the prohibition implies the presence of novels in Spanish America.

know no more what *Culua* was than we did *Mexico*.”⁸⁷ The strong syllable of *Culua* is not so alien to the *Cal* of *California* that it is impossible to imagine that someone familiar with the latter, upon hearing some term similar to it, might thus conceivably have suggested it. But the point to bear in mind is that, once suggested, the application was probably in derision pure and simple.

Hernán Cortés never used the word, nor did any one in his service. The record of Pedro de Palencia is the best proof of this. The word was in writing in 1542, and in Gómara's history before 1554. Then it appeared somewhat fitfully in histories and records subsequent to that. Francis Drake sailed by Baja California and up the coast which he named “Nova Albion,” and knew nothing of the name which was to be permanent. Ten years later, another Englishman was better informed. In the story of Thomas Cavendish's (Candish) capture of the 700-ton vessel “Santa Ana” off the coast of California, thus merrily celebrating Elizabeth's birthday, England had an opportunity of learning where the peninsula was.⁸⁸ This voyage lasted two years (1586–88), while there was open war between England and Spain, and English seamen were free to take from Spanish ships treasure that they had failed to find elsewhere in their cruise.

Between the voyages of Drake and Cavendish, the Spanish Francisco de Gali sailed from Acapulco on March 10, 1582, to the Philippines, returning to the same port in 1584. By that time, maps and historians had probably made the name of California familiar to the sailing world. In the text of his voyage as given in Hakluyt, he mentions: “El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California . . . being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Díaz del Castillo, *The True History*, I, 128. In the first edition, the word is *Culchua*.

⁸⁸ *The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish*, Hakluyt, III, 803–824.

⁸⁹ *The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle*, Hakluyt, III, 442–447.

Later, when Sebastian Vizcaíno sailed in his turn from Aca-pulco, on Sunday, May 2, 1602, commissioned to explore "the harbors and bays of the South Sea as far as Cape Mendocino," the name was common property. This well known voyage was, however, not Vizcaíno's first venture on the waters of the Pacific, and one item of testimony given in connection with his landing on the peninsula of Santa Cruz in 1597 offers a curious piece of evidence in regard to the shadowy location of the Amazons on the Gulf.

Gonzalo de Francia, boatswain of the "Capitana," gives a statement about the expedition, some thirty years later than the event. In the course of his story, he tells how the little fleet, bearing a number of people intended for colonists, "reached the land of the Californias at a recognized place, in front of which there is an island." Vizcaíno went on in advance and sent back for Gonzalo's party.⁹⁰ All, colonists and others, were ordered to reëmbark and proceed farther in quest of a better port and better Indians:

Ten leagues from this bay (the place where the "Capitana" had first anchored), we found a large port called the port of La Paz because peaceable Indians came out to see us there—[this is the Santa Cruz of the time of Cortés]—and there is an island at the entrance of the mouth which they called the island of women, who live there without any men, who go over to them only in summer on the rafts which they use for communication.⁹¹

Undoubtedly there are other evidences of a vague uncertainty as to whether there was a small island of *California*, just as there was vagueness about whether Santa Cruz were bay, place, or peninsula, and whether "California" were applied to

⁹⁰ The introductory statement of Gonzalo de Francia is: "In the year 1597, when the Count of Monterey was governing New Spain, I went out with Sebastian Vizcaino as boatswain of the flagship, with one large ship and two small ones, etc." The testimony was given May 27, 1629.

⁹¹ Parecer que dió en Méjico á 27. de Mayo de 1629, Gonzalo de Francia, Contramaistre de la Nao Capitana de la armada con que el General Sebastián Vizcaino fué al descubrimiento de las Californias el año de 1602 sobre la importancia de la poblacion de aquellas provincias. In Navarrete, *Collection*, XIX, doc. no. 15. Papeles sobre el descubrimiento de la California causados en el año de 1638. Confrontos en 13 de Febrero de 1794. Vo Bo, Martin Fern de Navarrete. Copied for Mr. Richman in Seville, and used with his kind permission.

that same bay or locality or cape. Nothing connected with the peninsula was sufficiently important to make chroniclers or clerks very accurate in its regard. But by 1600, the name floated over the whole peninsula. Then there came a day when it crept up north, until it crowded out the "Nova Albion" that had been accepted and was never formally dislodged. The maps tell that chapter of the story, though they fail to give an explanation why, in 1622, the whole of the two Californias, from the point of the peninsula to latitude 42°, was unmoored from the continent and appeared as a great island for nearly a century. But the name survived this cosmographical vicissitude.

It was about the time when the peninsula sank into oblivion, into the obscurity that enveloped the long stretch of California—from the time of Vizcaíno to that of the Jesuits—that the romances which cradled its name were declared responsible for the madness of Don Quixote, according to the veracious Cervantes. Pernicious light reading had robbed that good man of his reason, and his friends resolved upon a general destruction of his stores of demoralizing romances. The priest and the barber decided that *Amadis de Gaula* might be spared, but that the virtue of the father should not save the son, Esplandian, any more than the rest of that long line of weak posterity. *Las sergas de Esplandian* is expressly mentioned as obnoxious, and the wonderful episode of Calafia and her realm was sacrificed as rudely by intent as Old Time had done by just proceeding calmly on his way. If the great brown land had not prospered under the name, and thus lived to bear witness to the tale, those "victories" (*sergas*) would never have been thought of again. The thickening mists of a receding past would have hidden Calafia and her California forever, in ruthless oblivion.

APPENDIX A

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "CALIFORNIA"

SURMISES AND USAGE

If it be assumed that the name was taken bodily from *Las sergas de Esplandian*, where did Montalvo find it, and, if he coined it, what were his materials?

Dr. Davidson considers that the Spaniard made up the word from Greek roots. Montalvo claims that he obtained his narrative from one "Gran Maestro Elisabet," a Greek. To bear out this, he invents various words with Greek stems.

1. Calafia is from Καλλι (kalli)—beautiful, and Φιλη (phile), a female friend, or from Καλλιφύης (kalliphues)—of beautiful stature. (The name is introduced seventeen times in the romance.)

2. California is from Κάλλος (kallos)—beauty, or (kalli)—beautiful, and from ὄρνις (ornis)—a bird. "In this island are many griffins... which can be found in no other part of the world." The Queen took 500 of these griffins to assist in the capture of Constantinople. (The name is used ten times.)

Consultation with various Greek scholars possessing knowledge of medieval usages in regard to classical roots did not result in any confirmation of these conjectures. One authority characterized the hypotheses as "moonshine," adding specifically in regard to the second: "I think this is etymologically impossible because of the insertion of the 'f.'"

Professor Reed of the Romance Department, University of Wisconsin, kindly gave the subject careful attention. "I can say nothing final," he wrote, "perhaps nothing final can ever be said. I can only make the following observations:

"The 'f' in California makes it exceedingly unlikely that the Greek 'ornis,' a bird, had anything to do with the formation of the word in the brain of the author of *Las sergas*....

"As to the formation of the fantastic names of the sixteenth century *libros de caballerías*, very little can be said which would have any scientific value. They are made up from every conceivable combination of associations. I quote a few: Gaula, Wales; Vindilisora, Windsor; Tesifante, Tesiphon, Turkey; Norgales, North Wales—all of which have some basis in fact. Such, however, is not always the case. Occasionally some favorite prefix will start a whole list of formations; of this class, I quote a few taken from *Amadis*: Branm, a river of Great Britain; Brananda, a forest of Great Britain; Brandalia, a principality; Brandalisa, a lady; Brandisidel, a knight; Brandeibas, a knight; Brandonio, a man's name; Brandueta, a maid; Branfil, a knight. Here the bond of association is

evidently *bran*, a prefix, just as in other cases it is a suffix, e.g., Aldadan, a giant; Ardan, Baladan, Cildadan, Famongomadan, Caldan, Caradan, Grumedan, Ladasan—all persons in *dan*, etc.... At other times it is a fancy based on some suggestive or easily recognizable word, e.g., Tantaes, not etymologically correct, of course, from Tantalus; Quinorante, equivalent to Queinorante or more correctly "*Que ignorante!*" a man's name; Dragonis, a knight from Dragon; Andadena, a giantess, from *andar*, etc.

"There are half a dozen other favorite endings and prefixes that might be mentioned. I have mentioned the above simply to show that one should be very cautious in turning to Greek for the explanation of words which have some part that might by chance just as well as by design have their elements represented in Greek."

After some further comments, Professor Reed continues:

"It is to be noted that there appear two stems, *cala* and *cali*, in the five words taken from Esplandian—Calafia, California, Califin, Califera, Califerno—although this does not mean that they are by origin different, necessarily. The introduction of any one of these words into the author's mind by any association whatever would legitimately explain all others, and Greek off-hand in 1510 is the last place to turn for the explanation of names in romances of chivalry, which were not written for the learned but for the humble, who, for the most part, could hardly read at all, as appears from Don Quixote, I, 32, but who enjoyed them none the less."

He adds that in general the association between the words was through a "fanciful assonance" with some word or name already familiar. It is in this suggestion of Professor Reed's that I believe lies the clue to the derivation of Calafia and California. It is a clue that Dr. Hale indicated years ago. Both words spring from a fancied resemblance in sound, just as words are invented by any active-minded child. Calafia is nothing more than a female caliph. What more natural appellation for a sovereign queen, an ally to the heathen Turk? From that, "California" was coined without the slightest concern that *ornia* was a free lance etymologically. It sounded plausible. A proof that it had a finished living sound is that it has held its own through many vicissitudes, when less skilfully coined haphazard terms have vanished into oblivion.

There is, however, another possible explanation for the origin of the word "California" which transfers the responsibility of actual invention from the shoulders of Montalvo to that of the unknown author of *La Chanson de Roland*—the great epic of the eleventh century or earlier. When Charles the Great (Carles li reis) laments the death of his nephew Roland on the field of Roncevaux, he enumerates the foes who will attack him when they know that the valiant warrior is gone—the Saxons, Hungarians... those of Palerne and of Affrike and those of Califerne."

- 2920 "Mor est mis nies ki tant soleit cunquere
Encuntre mei revelerunt li Saisne
2922 Et Hungre et Bugre et tante gent averse,
Romain, Puillain et tuit cil de Palerne
2924 E cil d'Affrike e cil de Califerne;"

In Léon Gautier's modern French version (Tours, 1872, 2 vols., texte critique accompagné d'une traduction nouvelle), this reads:

“Il est mort, mon cher neveu, celui qui m'a conquis tant de terres
Et voila que les Saxons vont se revolter contre moi,
Les Hongrois, les Bulgares, et tant d'autres peuples,
Les Romains avec ceux de la Puille et de la Sicile,
Ceux d'Afrique et de Califerne.”

M. Gautier makes no comment upon “Califerne” in his copious and learned notes. Other editors either pass over the word in silence or say that it cannot be identified, although it is probably *the calif's domain*.

Geddes (ed. Boston, 1906) adds a map to his edition, but “Califerne” is not on it, the name being given in a short list of the unidentified places.

Here the conjecture is possible that Montalvo had this very country in mind, this calif's heathen land, while the different vowel in the word he actually introduced into his novel was either due to intention, to suit the requirements of the maiden queen's remote island, or to one of the chance misprints not unknown to the modern press. And then the changeling held its footing precariously until it climbed upon the map.

But even if Montalvo had no thoughts of “Califerne” and was just inventing a place where a califa or female caliph was supreme, it is doubtful whether he would have had any etymological qualms of conscience in tacking *ornia* onto the sound of caliph, when he was trying to fit the latest news brought by Columbus into his narrative where greater wonders than Amazons and their islands ran riot. Literary consciences were not tender in those days.

This theory must, or course, be considered as a conjecture. But it seems a plausible and justifiable one. The writers of the sixteenth century who have mentioned “California”—Gómara, Bernal Díaz, Herrera, and others—make no attempt at explanation of the etymology of the word. By the time the seventeenth-century historians began to rewrite the earlier records, all recollections of Calafia and her island had passed away. References to popular novels would not be understood a few decades after their publication. The historians found the work, some used it without comment, some built up theories to explain its existence.

Taking the works mentioned by Dr. Davidson¹ the following passages are noteworthy:

Notiora tamen navigatione nostrae regna regionesque sunt illae... eodem litoris tractu, mare praetenduntur (Orientem versus) California loca... plusquam ad mediam Californiam longitudinem. Eum quidem Mare Vermejum vocant, ad simulacrum nunnillum maris Hadriatici Tyrrhenique; ...aut in effigiem aliquam Arabici sinus... Californiam omnem, in arctum, ac tres in angulos, compellunt (Joannis Bisselii e Societate Jesu, *Argonauticon Americanorum, sive historiae periculorum Petri de Victoriae, ac sociorum ejus, libri XV*, 1647, p. 401).

¹ “The origin and the meaning of the name California,” in *Transactions and proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific*, Series II, Vol. VI, Part I (1910), 3-50.

On page 402 Bissel refers to the Gulf of California—California Sinus—and to desert islands. The Jesuit makes no attempt to explain the name.

Contemporary with Bissel was Robert Dudley, who wrote his great work on the secrets of the sea in Italian. In his reference to California, he shows that the period of uncertainty in regard to it had set in.

Ed per quella via esce il mare Vermio, como novamente scoperto dagli Spagnuoli della nuova Spagna. Comincia il detto mare con il capo santa Clara della California, come di sopra, e passa per l'isola nominata de Giganti, & esce nel mare Settentrionale, in gr. 43 di latitudine per il regno di Coronado, e fa che la California sia isola con l'America Maestrale e non terra ferma, come racconta il detto Jansonio nella sua Carta; Con il qual avvertimento si termina questo Libro sesto, & ultimo.

"...The Vermilion Sea begins at the Cape Santa Clara of California, as shown elsewhere...and this determines that California may be an island off western America and not terra firma, as Jansen states on his chart." Dudley makes no attempt to explain the name (Robert Dudley, *Dell' Arcano del mare, di Roberto Dudleo duca di Northumbria*, Firenze (1630), 1647.)

Next we have the treatise of a learned professor of Guelderland, George Horn, who takes his *amice lector* into his confidence in a friendly way as he explains how he is about to discuss the origin of native Americans. Horn believes that the American Indians came from Asia, and he does not hesitate to give derivations to corroborate this theory. Thus does he describe Korea:

Corai Sinensibus, *Corassi Japoniis*, Caoli indigenis, Paulo Veneto *Caulis*, longitudinis centum, latitudinis sexaginta milliarum insula.

Qua Asiam respicit, ingenti trium milliarum flumine a Cataia abscinditur, caetera Oceanus ambit. Et quia flumen non fretum inter eam ac Cataiam jacet, hinc Paulus Venetus & alii peninsulam & Asiae continentum faciunt. Hi Coreani primo in Californiam veniunt; quae nomen suum a Caoli habet. Unde brevis in Colimam trajectus, ubi & Caligua; in Xalisco Chacalla, Coringa Provincia prope Chiapolam, et Calos Floridae Provincia late sparsos arguit. In popojan *Cali*, in Peruvia *Chili*.

"These people were the first to come to California, which takes its name from Caoli, etc." The other derivations from the same source may be inferred (*Georgi Horni de originibus Americanis*. Libri quatuor, Hagae Comitum, 1652, chap. VII, p. 242). Horn uses "California" three times in addition to this.

The *Noticia de la California* published by the Jesuit Venegas in 1757 gives credit to Father Kino for proving that California was a peninsula. It says:

The name, then, which is now in use, is the ancient one California, which we find applied to the region since its first discovery. Some use the name in the plural, calling it *Las Californias*. I think that this arises from the desire to comprehend by this mode of speech that which was thought an island, the largest in the world, and with it the other smaller islands which encircle it on both sides. . . .

I should well like to inform the curious as to the origin and etymology of a name which, both by reason of the peculiarity of its sound, and by the fact that it is associated with real misfortunes and dreamed-of riches, has been made memorable in New Spain and even in Europe. But all that I can say is that, in none of the various languages of the natives have the missionaries found such a name given to the land, nor to any port, bay, or place in it. Neither can I adopt the etymology which some indicate, suggesting that it is a name given by the Spaniards, of whom they affirm that, experiencing extreme heat upon the first expeditions, they named the land *California*, forming a vocable from the two Latin words *calida* and *fornax*, as if we should say *horno-caliente* (hot oven). I fear that many will not credit our *conquistadores* with so much erudition; and, although Bernal Díaz del Castillo does not deny to Cortés the peculiar distinction among his companions of being a Latin scholar, and even a poet and a bachelor of laws, we do not find that either he or his captains had this style in giving names to their conquests. I judge then, that this name arose from some casual circumstance, as, among others, well could have been that of some of the Indian words being misunderstood by the Spaniards.²

In regard to the other names applied to the land, Venegas mentions "New Albion," and then continues:

The name *Islas Carolinas* was not given to this country till near a century after, in honor of Charles II of Spain [1665-1700] when, by his order, the conquest of California, then thought to be an island, and the others adjacent, was undertaken by a force equal to the enterprise. . . . The name by which the country is at present known is that of California, an appellation given at the time of its discovery. Some use the name in the plural number, calling it *Las Californias*.²

James Burney simply rephrases the sentences of Venegas, and has no original suggestion to make except that he adds: "By some, all the northern coast on that side of America has at times been loosely called California."³

The *Narrative* by Captain Beechy of his voyages in the Pacific is no compilation of other men's records, but the account of personal experiences. He visited the mission of San Juan and discussed the name of "California" with the Jesuit priest, Arroyo. He says:

I shall observe first that it was never known why Cortés gave to the bay which he first discovered a name which appears to be composed of the Latin words, *calida* and *fornax*, signifying *heat* and *furnace*, and which was afterwards transferred to the peninsula.

After referring to Venegas and to Burney, Captain Beechy continues:

It was thought in Monterey to have arisen in consequence of a custom which prevails throughout California, of the Indians shutting themselves in ovens until they perspire profusely, as I have already described in speaking of the Temeschal. It is not improbable that the practice

² Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su conquista* (Madrid, 1757), I, 1-4.

³ James Burney, *A chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* (London, 1803), I, 178.

appeared so singular to Cortés that he applied the name of California as being one in which hot ovens were used for such singular purposes. Padre Arroyo, however, maintained that it was a corruption of *colofon*, which, in the Spanish language, signifies resin, in consequence of the pine trees which yield that material being so numerous. The first settlers, he said, at the sight of these trees would naturally exclaim "*Colofon*," which by its similarity to "*Californo*" (in the Catalan dialect, *hot oven*), a more familiar expression, would soon become changed."⁴

Among later references to the derivation of the name worthy of consideration is that of Professor Jules Marcou. He says:

Cortés and his companions, struck with the difference between the dry and burning heat they experienced, compared with the moist and much less oppressive heat of the Mexican *tierra caliente*, first gave to a bay, and afterward extended to the entire country the name of *tierra California*, derived from *calida fornax*, which signifies fiery furnace or hot as an oven. . . . The author who first employed the name of California was Bernardo Díaz del Castillo.⁵

H. H. Bancroft says⁶ that the Californians of 1846, Vallejo and Alvarado, agree that the name came from the words *kali forno* upon authority from Baja California, and meant either a "high hill" or "native land." He further adds that E. D. Guilbert of Copala, Sinaloa, informed him in 1878 that an old Indian of his locality called the peninsula *Tchali-falni-al*, "the sandy land beyond the water."

Thomas E. Selvin, councillor of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, has suggested that this was not an Indian word, but the Indian's pronunciation of "California."

Theodore T. Hittell⁷ says: The first account of California that is found in old records represented it as an island rich in pearls and gold." He carries it back to Cortés' fourth letter—that of October 15, 1524—and thus attaches the peninsula to the legend of the Amazonian realm, but does not refer to Calafia and her definite island.

An anonymous writer, "M. L.," of Fresno, California, makes⁸ the following suggestion: In approaching Loreto (on the eastern coast of the peninsula in latitude 26° 10') he saw snow-white heaps upon a knoll, and asked the guide, "*¿Qué cosa es?*" "*Cal y forno*," answered the Indian; when he knew at once the true meaning of the name California, because these white heaps were limekilns, *cal* meaning lime, and *forno* an oven or kiln. He believed that Ulloa, remembering Montalvo's California, accepted the name for the country.

⁴ Beechy, *Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, in the years 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828* (London, 1831), I, 55-56.

⁵ Jules Marcou, "Notes upon the first discoveries of California, and the origin of its name," in *Annual report of the chief of engineers, United States Army, 1878* (Washington, 1878).

⁶ *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), I, 66.

⁷ *History of California* (San Francisco, 1885-97), I, 37.

⁸ *San Francisco Chronicle*, June, 1893.

Dr. Davidson's comment upon the last theory is that there is no proof that the Indians of Lower California built houses of stone and mortar, although Díaz says that the great edifices of Montezuma's city were constructed of *cal y canto*, stone and mortar.

L. Lodain, writing in the *Booklover*, vol. 3, no. 12, May-June, 1902, dismisses the origin of the word in *Esplandian* as an "old yarn." His theory is that California is derived from an Arabic word *kalifat*, a province, which he changes to an Arabic-Spanish compound *kalifon*, a great province. Finally, he declares, *Kalif-ornia* was evolved.

Still another hypothesis is that the word comes from Caliphurnia, Caesar's wife.

APPENDIX B

THE ROMANCE OF AMADIS DE GAULA AND ITS SEQUELS

The authorship, land of origin, and basic sources of the once popular novel, *Amadis de Gaula*, are still fruitful subjects of discussion. For an excellent resumé of theories and literature pertaining to the controversy, see an article entitled "The Amadis question," by G. S. Williams, published in the *Revue hispanique*, Tome XXI (Paris, 1909), 7-167. After an exhaustive consideration of the whole field, the writer states that the evidence is still insufficient to allow definitive conclusions on the disputed points, that is, on most of them. For the one item in connection with "California," as it is found in *Las sergas de Esplandian*, it is sufficient to assume as accepted that the original sources were akin to the cycle of Round Table romances; that they were used in a Portuguese novel consisting of at least three books, attributed to one Lobeira, but not proven to be his; that, although there was, probably, an earlier Spanish version, the Spanish translation made by one Montalvo, *regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo*, was the only one to survive; that Montalvo made this translation in the latter part of the fifteenth century. His preface can be definitely dated as written between 1492 and 1504. His Christian name is given variously: Garcírodriguez (edition of Venezia, 1508), Garcíordones (edition of Venezia, 1533), as Garcigutierrez (edition of Sevilla, 1542). Nothing further is known of this Montalvo.

It is further accepted that he translated three books, and wrote the fifth, while the complete authorship of Book IV remains uncertain.

He himself claims no originality for any of the books, only corrections. His statement in his preface is as follows:

And I, desiring that some shadow of memory of me should remain, not daring to set my weak genius to those things with which the wisest of men occupy themselves, wanted to connect it with these latter who have written the lightest and most unsubstantial things, to which they are, through their weakness, most adapted, by correcting these three books of *Amadis* (which through fault of bad writers or composers are read in very corrupt and vicious form), and by translating and emendating the fourth book, with the exploits of his son *Esplandian*, which, until now, has not been seen within the memory of anyone. (Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

There could be no surer proof of the popularity of *Amadis* and of *Esplandian* than the fact that Montalvo had immediately a host of imitators. It is certain that *Las sergas* must have had earlier editions than the known one of 1521, because there was a sixth book of *Amadis*, *Florisando*, published at Salamanca in 1510. One Paez de Ribera claims to be

the author in the second edition, Sevilla, 1526. It is terribly weak stuff, but it proves a market for this type of wares. There were enough readers to keep the novel from going out of print. Book VI, *Lisuarte de Grecia y Perion de Gaula*, has a fresh interest for us, because on its pages Calafia reappears. It was issued between the first and second editions of *Don Florisando*. A copy of 1514 is in the Biblioteca Columbina, as mentioned elsewhere, purchased by Ferdinand Columbus for 135 *maraviglias*. New editions followed each other in 1526, 1539, 1548, 1550, while in 1587 two came out in Zaragoza and one in Lisboa.¹

Were they partially due to Calafia? Who knows? Book VIII, *Lisuarte de Grecia y muerte de Amadis*, apparently went through only the one edition of 1526. Book IX, *Amadis de Grecia* (Burgos, 1535), had a better sale. It was reprinted at Sevilla in 1542, at Medina del Campo in 1564, in Valencia in 1582, in Lisboa in 1596, while yet another copy is preserved which contains neither date nor place of publication.

Book X, *Don Florisel de Niquia*, appeared in 1532 (this shows that *Amadis de Grecia* must have had an earlier edition than that of 1535) at Valladolid in 1546, at Sevilla in 1566, at Lisboa in 1568, at Zaragoza in 1584, and in the same year at Tarragona—six editions in all, from rival publishers.

Book XI, *Rogel de Grecia* (really Part III of Book X), appeared in 1536 and 1546 at Sevilla, and again in 1551 at Salamanca, and in 1566 at Lisboa, while there are two editions without date or place.

Book XI, *Don Florisel de Niquet* (parte cuarta) was issued in two editions at Salamanca in 1551, and at Zaragoza in 1568, other copies being also referred to.

Book XII, *Don Silves de la Selva*, appeared in 1546 and 1549 at Sevilla. The inference from this is that there was an earlier edition of the following item.

Book XIII, *Esfersmundi de Grecia*. This was known to exist in Castilian.

Book XIV of *Amadis* is spoken of as existing in Portuguese.

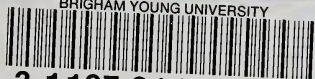
¹ The known Spanish editions of *Amadis* and *Las sergas* are thirty-two in number, as follows (see Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–167): 1496, edition referred to and not authenticated; 1508, *Los quatro libros del virtuoso cavallero Amadis de Gaula* (October 30, Zaragoza); 1510, *Amadis*. Two editions, one at Salamanca and one at Sevilla; 1511, *Amadis*. Sevilla, mentioned but not found; other editions of 1519, 1521, 1524, 1526, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1545, 1547 (2), 1551, 1552, 1563, 1565, 1574, 1575 (3), 1576, 1580, 1586, 1587, 1589, 1837, 1847, 1857, appeared successively at Salamanca, Zaragoza, Toledo, Sevilla, Venezia, Medina, Louayna, Burgos, Madrid, and Barcelona, some cities fathering more than one edition.

In the "Catalogo de los libros de caballerias" given in the *Biblioteca de autores Españoles*, XL (Madrid, 1857), lxvii, the following editions of *Las sergas* are mentioned, this being entitled *Libro V de Amadis* in all cases: Toledo, 1521; Salamanca, 1525 (?); Burgos, 1526; Sevilla, 1542; Burgos, 1587; Zaragoza, 1587; ———, 1588.

Contemporary with this long tale of *Amadis* sequels is another series, *Los Palmerines*. *Palmerin de Oliva* was published in 1511, and reached nine editions before 1580.

It was followed by *Primaleon*, *Polindo*, *Platir*, *Flotir*, *Palmerin de Inglaterra*, *Eduardos II de Bertania*, and *Don Clarisel de Bertania*, all numbered consecutively II-VII, 1602. There are various other series, all running from 1510 to 1600, issued by different publishers in different cities, and showing conclusively that the public was clamorous for more news of favorite heroes and their descendants.

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